A GENERAL MAP of INDOSTAN or the GREAT MOGOL'S EMPIRE with the ADJACENT COUNTRIES.
Longitude E. from Ferro
Longitude E. from London
TARTARY
KOBI or GREAT SANDY DESERT
KHORASAN
PERSIA
SIGISTAN
MEKRAN
INDOSTAN
Kn. of ASAM
Kn. of TEPRA
Kn. of ARACAN
BAY OF BENGAL
GULF OF SCINDI
GULF OF CAMBAY
GUZERAT
MALVA
BERAR
AGRA
DOWLATABAD
GOLCONDA
ORIXA
BAHAR
BENGAL
MYSORE
Is. LACKA-DIVES
MAL DIVES
Andaman I.
Samarkand
Bukara
Balk
Kabul
Kandahar
Attock
Multan
Lahoor
Delhi
Agra
Benares
Patna
Malda
Rangamatti
Dacca
Chitigan
Calcutta
Balasore
Tatta
Ahmedabad
Cambay
Diu
Surat
Aurungabad
Bombay
Goa
Golconda
Masulipatnam
Vizagapatnam
Madras
Pondicherry
Fort St. David
Tranquebar
Negapatnam
Seringapatnam
Cochin
C. Comorin
Tutucorin
Trinconomaley
Colombo
Point de Galle
Thos. Kitchin Sculpsit.

A

HISTORY

OF THE

MILITARY TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

BRITISH NATION

IN

INDOSTAN,

FROM THE YEAR MDCCXLV.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED A DISSERTATION ON THE ESTABLISHMENTS MADE BY MAHOMEDAN CONQUERORS IN INDOSTAN.

By ROBERT ORME, Esq. F. A. S.

VOL. I.

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2

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Serfojee Rajah. 1827

2
1643

TO HIS MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY

GEORGE THE THIRD,

THIS ATTEMPT
TO COMMEMORATE THE SUCCESSES
OF THE BRITISH ARMS
IN INDOSTAN

IS MOST HUMBLY DEDICATED,

BY HIS MAJESTY'S
MOST DUTIFUL SERVANT,
AND MOST FAITHFUL SUBJECT,

THE AUTHOR.

3

A

DISSERTATION

ON THE

ESTABLISHMENTS

MADE BY

MAHOMEDAN CONQUERORS in INDOSTAN.

SECTION I.

EUROPEANS underſtand by the Eaſt-Indies all the countries and empires, which lying ſouth of Tartary, extend from the eaſtern frontiers of Perſia, to the eaſtern coaſts of China. The iſlands of Japan are likewiſe included in this denomination; as are all the Malay iſlands, in which the Dutch have ſuch valuable poſſeſſions, and which extend to the ſouthward, as far as the coaſts of New Holland, and eaſtward to lands unknown.

But the name of India can only with propriety be applied to the country which is diſtinguiſhed in Aſia as well as in Europe by the name of Indoſtan.

That part of the weſtern ſide of Indoſtan, which is not bounded by the ſea, is ſeparated from Perſia and the Uſbeg Tartary by deſarts, and

by thoſe mountains which were known to the ancients under the name of Paropamiſus: Mount Caucaſus forms its barrier to the north, ſeparating it from various nations of Tartars, from the great and little Thibet. From mount Caucaſus to Chitigan, marſhes and rivers divide it from the kingdoms of Tepra, Aſſam, and Aracan: the ſea, from Chitigan to cape Comorin and from hence to Perſia, embraces the reſt of Indoſtan.

This great extent of country has been inhabited, from the earlieſt antiquity, by a people who have no reſemblance either in their figures or manners with any of the nations which are contiguous to them. Although theſe nations have at different times ſent conquerors amongſt them, who have eſtabliſhed themſelves in different parts of the country: although the Mogul Tartars under Tamerlane and his ſucceſſors have at laſt rendered themſelves lords of almoſt the whole of it; yet the original inhabitants have loſt very little of their original character by the eſtabliſhment of theſe ſtrangers amongſt them.

Besides the particular denominations which they receive from the caſts and countries in which they are born, there is one more general, which is applied indiſcriminately to diſtinguiſh the original natives from all who have intruded themſelves amongſt them, Hendoo, from whence Indian.

The Indians have loſt all memory of the ages in which they began to believe in Vistnou, Eswara, Brama, and a hundred thouſand divinities ſubordinate to theſe. Theſe divinities are worſhipped in temples called Pagodas in every part of Indoſtan, the whole extent of which is holy land to its inhabitants; for there is no part in which ſome divinity has not appeared and done ſomething to merit a temple and prieſts to take care of it. Some of theſe fabrics are of immemorial antiquity: they are at the ſame time monuments of ſuch ſtupendous labour, that they are ſuppoſed to have been built by the gods to whom they are conſecrated.

The

The history of these gods is a heap of the greatest absurdities. It is Eswara twisting off the neck of Brama; it is the Sun, who gets his teeth knocked out, and the Moon, who has her face beat black and blue at a feast, at which the gods quarrel and fight with the spirit of a mob. They say that the Sun and Moon carry in their faces to this day the marks of this broil. Here and there a moral or metaphysical allegory, and sometimes a trace of the history of a first legislator, is discernible in these stories; but in general they are so very extravagant and incoherent, that we should be left to wonder how a people so reasonable in other respects should have adopted such a code of nonsense as a creed of religion, did we not find the same credulity in the histories of nations much more enlightened.

The Bramins, who are the tribe of the priesthood, descend from those Brachmans who are mentioned to us with so much reverence by antiquity; and although much inferior either as philosophers or men of learning to the reputation of their ancestors, as priests their religious doctrines are still implicitly followed by the whole nation; and as preceptors they are the source of all the knowledge which exists in Indostan.

Even at this day some of them are capable of calculating an eclipse, which seems to be the utmost stretch of their mathematical knowledge. They have a good idea of logic; but it does not appear that they have any treatises on rhetoric; their ideas of music, if we may judge from the practice, are barbarous; and in medicine they derive no assistance from the knowledge of anatomy, since dissections are repugnant to their religion.

They shed no blood and eat no flesh, because they believe in the transmigration of souls; they encourage wives to burn themselves with their deceased husbands, and seem to make the perfection of religion consist in a punctual observance of numerous ceremonies performed in the worship of their gods, and in a strict attention to keep their bodies free from pollution. Hence purifications and

 ablutions,

ablutions, as dictated by their scriptures, are scrupulously observed by them, and take up no small portion of their time.

A Bramin cannot eat any thing which has been prepared or even touched by any other hand than that of a Bramin, and from the same principle, cannot be married to a person of any other cast in the kingdom, because his own cast is the highest, even above that of the kings. They say that they were formerly the kings of the whole country, and preserve to this day the privilege of commuting capital punishment, when merited, by the loss of their eyes. To kill a Bramin is one of the five sins for which there is scarce any expiation.

The pre-eminence of the Bramins admitted, it seems as if the Indians had determined to compensate the odium of such a superiority, by forming themselves into a number of distinct tribes or gradations of people, who respectively submit to the different degrees of estimation in which they have at last agreed to abide, as implicitly as the whole agree to acknowledge the superiority of the Bramins.

The many temporal advantages which the Bramins derive from their spiritual authority, and the impossibility of being admitted into their tribe, have perhaps given rise to that number of Joguees and Facquires, who torture themselves with such various and astonishing penances, only to gain the same veneration which a Bramin derives from his birth.

The casts or tribes into which the Indians are divided, are reckoned by travellers to be eighty-four: perhaps when India shall be better known, we shall find them to be many more; for there is a singular disposition in the Indian, from very trifling circumstances to form a sect apart from the rest of his neighbours. But the order of pre-eminence of all the casts in a particular city or province, is generally indisputably decided. The Indian of an inferior would think himself honoured by adopting the customs of a superior cast; but this would give battle sooner than not vindicate its prerogatives: the inferior

ferior receives the victuals prepared by a superior cast with respect, but the superior will not partake of a meal which has been prepared by the hands of an inferior cast. Their marriages are circumscribed by the same barriers as the rest of their intercourses; and hence, besides the national physiognomy, the members of each cast preserve an air of still greater resemblance to one another. There are some casts remarkable for their beauty, others as remarkable for their ugliness.

All these casts acknowledge the Bramins for their priests, and with them admit the transmigration. In devotion to this opinion some afflict themselves at the death of a fly, although occasioned by inadvertence. But the far greater number of casts are not so scrupulous, and eat, although very sparingly, both of fish and flesh; but, like the Jews, not of all kinds indifferently.

Their diet is chiefly rice and vegetables dressed with ginger, turmeric, and other hotter spices, which grow almost spontaneously in their gardens. They esteem milk the purest of foods, because they think it partakes of some of the properties of the nectar of their gods, and because they esteem the cow itself almost a divinity.

An abhorrence to the shedding of blood, derived from his religion, and seconded by the great temperance of a life which is passed by most of them in a very sparing use of animal food, and a total abstinence from intoxicating liquors; the influence of the most regular of climates, in which the great heat of the sun and the great fertility of the soil lessen most of the wants to which the human species is subject in austerer regions, and supply the rest without the exertion of much labour; these causes, with various consequences from them, have all together contributed to render the Indian the most enervated inhabitant of the globe.

He shudders at the sight of blood, and is of a pusillanimity only to be excused and accounted for by the great delicacy of his configuration.

tion. This is so slight as to give him no chance of opposing with success the onset of an inhabitant of more northern regions.

His manners are gentle; his happiness consists in the solaces of a domestic life; to which sufficiently inclined by the climate, he is obliged by his religion, which esteems matrimony a duty indispensible in every man who does not quit the world to unite himself to God: such is their phrase. Although permitted by his religion, according to the example of his gods, to have several, he is seldom the husband of more than one wife: and this wife is of a decency of demeanour, of a sollicitude in her family, and of a fidelity to her vows, which might do honour to human nature in the most civilized countries.

His amusements consist in going to his Pagoda, in assisting at religious shews, in fulfilling a variety of ceremonies prescribed to him on all occasions, by the Bramin; for, subject to a thousand lapses from the ideas he has adopted of impurity, the Indian is always offending his gods, who are not to be appeased untill their priest is satisfied.

In a country of such great extent, divided into so many distinct sovereignties, it cannot be expected that there should be no exceptions to one general assertion of the character of the inhabitants. There is every where in the mountains a wild inhabitant, whose bow an European can scarcely draw. There are in the woods people who subsist by their incursions into the neighbouring plains, and who, without the ferocity of the American, possess all his treachery; and according to Mr. Thevenot, India has had its cannibals in the centre of one of the most cultivated provinces of the empire. The Rajpouts by their courage have preserved themselves almost independant of the Great Mogul. The inhabitants of the countries still nearer to the mountains of the frontier, distinguished by the activity of their character from the indolence of the rest of the nation, have easily turned Mahomedans; these northern converts we suppose to be the origin of the present Affghans and Pitans, who are the best troops in

in the emperor's ſervice, and the moſt dangerous enemies of the throne when in arms againſt it.

The arts which furniſh the conveniences of life have been carried by the Indians to a pitch far beyond what is neceſſary to ſupply the wants of a climate which knows ſo few. At the ſame time no ideas of taſte or fine deſign have exiſted among them: and we ſeek in vain for elegance in the magnificence of the richeſt empire of the globe.

Their knowledge of mechanical powers is ſo very confined, that we are left to admire, without being able to account for, the manner in which they have erected their capital Pagodas. It does not appear that they had ever made a bridge of arches over any of their rivers, before the Mahomedans came amongſt them.

It is to the ſuppleneſs with which the whole frame of an Indian is endowed, and which is ſtill more remarkable in the configuration of his hand, that we are indebted for the exquiſite perfection of their manufactures of linnen. The ſame inſtruments which an Indian employs to make a piece of cambric, would, under the rigid fingers of an European, ſcarcely produce a piece of canvaſs.

His religion forbids the Indian to quit his own ſhores: he wants nothing from abroad: he is ſo far from being ſollicitous to convert the ſtranger to his own opinions, or from wiſhing him to aſſimilate with the nation, that if a foreigner were to ſollicit the privilege of worſhipping Viſtnou, his propoſal would be received with the utmoſt contempt.

Nothing ſeems to have been wanting to the happineſs of this nation, but that others ſhould have looked on them with the ſame indifference with which they regard the reſt of the world. But not content with the preſents which nature has ſhowered on their climate, they have made improvements when they felt no neceſſities. They have cultivated the various and valuable productions of their

ſoil

ſoil, not to the meaſure of their own, but to that of the wants of all other nations; they have carried their manufactures of linnen to a perfection which ſurpaſſes the moſt exquiſite productions of Europe, and have encouraged with avidity the annual tributes of gold and ſilver which the reſt of the world conteſt for the privilege of ſending to them. They have from time immemorial been as addicted to commerce, as they are averſe to war. They have therefore always been immenſely rich, and have always remained incapable of defending their wealth.

SECTION II.

LONG before Tamerlane, mahomedan princes had entered, made conquests, and established themselves in India.

VALID, the 6th of the Kalifs named Ommiades, who ascended the throne in the year 708 of our Æra, and in the 90th of the Hegira, made conquests in India; so that the Alcoran was introduced very early into this country.

MAHMOUD, son of Sebegtechin, prince of GAZNA, the capital of a province separated by mountains from the north-west parts of India, and situated near Kandahar, carried the Alcoran with the sword into Indostan in the year 1000 or 1002 of our Æra. He maintained himself in a vast extent of territory out of, and seems to have subdued as large a one in India, if it is true that he carried his conquests as far to the south as the present capital of the kingdom of Visiapore near Goa. He treated the Indians with all the rigor of a conqueror and all the fury of a converter, plundering treasures, demolishing temples, and murdering idolaters throughout his rout. His historians are quite extravagant in their descriptions of the wealth he found in Indostan. One of them says, no doubt allegorically, that he found a tree growing out of the earth to an enormous size, of which the substance was pure gold, and this the effect of nature.

THE successors of this Mahmoud are called, from the capital of their dominions, the dynasty of the Gaznavides, and maintained themselves in a great part of the countries which he had conquered in India until the year 1155, or 1157, when KOSROU SCHAH, the 13th and last prince of Gazna, and of the Gaznavide race, was deposed by HUSSAIN GAURI, so called from the country in which he was born, Gaur, a province lying to the north of Gazna.

THIS Hussain founded the dynasty of the GAURIDES, which furnished five princes who possessed in and out of India nearly the same dominions as their predecessors the Gaznavides, and like them made Gazna their capital.

SCHEABBEDIN, the 4th of the Gauride emperors, during the life of his brother and predecessor GAIATHEDDIN, conquered the kingdoms of Multan and Delhi. He drew such immense treasures out of India, that his favourite daughter inquiring of the officer who had the care of them, to what value they amounted, the treasurer answered, that there was the weight of three thousand pounds in diamonds only, by which she might judge of the rest: after deductions made for oriental exaggeration, we may still gather from this anecdote, that his conquests in India had given him great wealth. An Indian, rendered desperate by the pollutions and insults to which he saw his gods and temples exposed, made a vow to assassinate Scheabbedin, and executed it.

THE race of Gaurides finished in the year 1212, in the person of MAHMOUD, successor and nephew to Scheabbedin. The days of this Mahmoud, like those of his uncle, though for a different cause, were cut off by the swords of assassins. Whatever dominions Mahmoud possessed out of India, he does not seem to have had any great influence in it, or even in Gazna itself; he, contrary to the practice of his predecessors, made not this city the capital of his sovereignty. His uncle Scheabbedin, who had no children, and was remarkable for a spirit of adoption, had prepared the d ismemberment of the Indian provinces from the empire of Gazna, by giving the government of two of them to two of his slaves. Nassereddin received from him the countries of Multan, Cothbeddin-Ibeck those of Delhi. At the same time he made another of his slaves, Tageddin-Ildiz, governor of Gazna.

IN the year 1214 MOHAMED, the 6th Sultan of the dynasty of the KHOWARASMIANS, whose territories were contiguous to those of the Gaurides, took Gazna from the slave who had succeeded the slave Tageddin-

Tageddin-Ildiz in the government of that city. But although he conquered the capital of their empire, it does not appear that he fixed himſelf in the Indian dominions of the Gaurides. He imprudently quarrelled with GINGISCHAN, and in the year 1218 was compelled to fly before the arms of that mighty conqueror. In the year 1220 he died a fugitive, at a great diſtance from India.

THE brave GELALADDIN, ſon of Mohamed, made head in the province of Gazna againſt the forces of Gingiſchan: in the year 1221 he was ſo hard preſſed by them as to be forced to fly into India, where, on the weſtern banks of the Indus, he was totally defeated by Gingiſchan in perſon, but ſaved his life by ſwimming the river with an intrepidity which raiſed admiration in Gingiſchan himſelf. He remained in Multan until the year 1224, when he left India never more to return into it. He was killed in 1231 in Meſopotamia.

WITH Gelaladdin finiſhed the dynaſty of the Khowaraſmians; and what ſhare Gingiſchan or his ſucceſſors took in the affairs of Indoſtan, we have not had the good fortune to diſcover. We find that one Turmechirin Chan, ſtiled in Tamerlane's hiſtory a deſcendant of Gengis, and one of the great emperors of Aſia, penetrated in the year 1240 to the city of Mirte lying to the north-eaſt of Delhi, and made conqueſts which preſerved great reputation to his name in India, until the appearance of Tamerlane; but theſe conqueſts did not expel from the ſovereignty the family which at that time reigned in Delhi.

COTHBEDDIN-IBECK, the ſlave of Scheabbedin, rendered himſelf independant in the ſovereignty of Delhi, which had been given to him by his maſter only in viceregence. He extended the mahomedan dominions, and died peaceably on his throne in the year 1219. He was ſucceeded by his ſon ARAMSCHAH, who was depoſed by his father's ſlave ILETMISCHE SCHAMSEDDIN.

THIS ILETMISCHE conquered from the slave Nassereddin the provinces which composed the new kingdom of Multan. By uniting these to the provinces of Delhi, and by governing all these dominions in person without interesting himself in what passed out of India, he became the first regular and the most powerful mahomedan monarch who had hitherto reigned in Indostan. He died in the year 1235.

HIS descendants formed the dynasty of the first mahomedan kings of Delhi.

FIROUZCHAH ROCNEDDIN succeeded his father Iletmische, and before he had reigned a year was deposed by his discontented grandees, who placed his sister RADHIATEDDIN upon the throne; an extraordinary phænomenon in a mahomedan government. This female sovereign was, after various adventures, deposed by her brother Beharam Schah, and killed in attempting to make her escape from him.

BEHARAM SCHAH, after reigning two years, was killed in a revolt. MASSOUDSCHAH ALAEDDIN, son of Firouz Schah Rocneddin, then mounted the throne, and in the year 1246 was deposed by his brother MAHMOUD SCHAH NASSEREDDIN, who made great conquests in India.

AFTER the death of Mahmoud Nassereddin, Firouz his uncle and Alaeddin his nephew disputed the throne. ALAEDDIN caused Firouz to be assassinated, and remained in possession of the throne of Delhi until the year 1317.

HERE we arrive at a chasm of near 80 years in the history of these kings, which our guide Monsf. D'Herbelot could not find materials to fill up. Sultan MAHMOUD, who reigned at Delhi in the Year 1398, is stiled by Tamerlane's historian the grandson of the emperor Firouz Schah, concerning which Firouz Schah we can determine nothing more than that he was of the family of Iletmische.

Mahmoud Schah, a weak prince, was governed abſolutely by his vizir Mellou Cawn, who placed his brother Sarenk in the government of the provinces which depended on the city of Multan, and the two brothers between them ruled the whole kingdom, without any other than a nominal interpoſition of their ſovereign.

The Mirza Pir Mohammed Gehanguir had in the year 1392 received from his grandfather Tamerlane the ſovereignty of all the countries which had formed the empire of Mahmoud the Khowaraſmian, whom Gengiſchan conquered, and who was father of the brave Gelaleddin. Pir Mohammed, at the end of the year 1397, or the beginning of the year 1398, ſet out from his capital of Gazna, advanced with a numerous army to Multan, and laid ſiege to the city, which was well defended by Sarenk.

During the ſiege Tamerlane was advancing from Samarcande. He entered India at the end of the year 1398, deſcending more terrible than all its inundations from the center of the northern part of the Indian Caucaſus. This invincible barbarian met with no reſiſtance from the Indians ſufficient to juſtify, even by the military maxims of Tartars, the cruelties with which he marked his way. He was joined near Multan by his grandſon, who had now taken that city, and took in perſon the ſtrong fortreſs of Batnir; after which he marched towards Delhi. Here ſultan Mahmoud, with his vizir, had the courage to ſtand their ground, determined to riſk a battle with forces every way inferior to their enemies.

Tamerlane, when in ſight of their army, ordered a hundred thouſand priſoners, which his own army had gathered in their rout, to be put to death, becauſe they were idolaters, and becauſe ſome of theſe wretches had betrayed ſymptoms of ſatisfaction at the ſight of a ſkirmiſh which had been fought with a party of ſultan Mahmoud's cavalry. As theſe marks of diſaffection had raiſed the apprehenſion of a general inſurrection of the ſlaves, during the battle which

which was impending, Tamerlane enforced his order with the greatest rigour, and it was executed with the utmost diligence.

Two or three days after this massacre, Tamerlane gave battle, and was, as ever, victorious. Sultan Mahmoud and his vizir fled into Delhi, and in the night fled out of it.

Delhi was taken without resistance, and its inhabitants were subjected to the same pillage and cruelties, which we have seen renewed in this century by Thamas Kouli Khan in the present capital of Indostan, which, although bearing the same name, is not situated exactly on the same spot as the antient Delhi.

After having made the regulations necessary to calm the convulsions which his cruelties had raised in the inhabitants of the metropolis of Indostan, Tamerlane marched to the north-east towards the Ganges, not without resistance maintained in some places with resolution, but in all without success. He crossed the Ganges at Toglipoor, and exposing his person in every skirmish that offered with the spirit of a volunteer, advanced to the straights of Kupele.

At the foot of the mountains called Kentassi, in the country of Thibet, and in that part of them which lies between the thirty-first and thirty-second degree of latitude and between the ninety-eighth and the hundredth degree of longitude, the Ganges, formed from several sources, passes successively two great lakes, and flows to the west until the opposition of a part of the Indian Caucasus turns it to the south, and soon after to the south-east, when at length flowing due south, and having completed in these various directions a course of two hundred leagues, it enters India by forcing its passage through the mountains of the frontier.

The pass through which the Ganges disembogues itself into Indostan is called the straights of Kupele, which are distant from Delhi about 30 leagues, in the longitude of 96, and in the latitude of 30. 2.

These

These ſtraights are believed by the Indians, who look very little abroad, to be the ſources of the Ganges; and a rock 15 miles diſtant from them, bearing ſome reſemblance to the head of a cow, has joined in the ſame part of the kingdom two very important objects of their religion; the grand image of the animal which they almoſt venerate as a divinity, and the firſt appearance of that immenſe body of holy water which waſhes away all their ſins.

A great multitude of Indians were aſſembled, probably for the celebration of a feaſt, at the ſtraights of Kupele. They made ſome ſhew of reſiſtance againſt Tamerlane's army, but were no ſooner attacked than diſperſed. The field of this victory is the moſt diſtant term of Tamerlane's conqueſts in India and on the globe.

He now prepared to return to his capital of Samarcande, and repaſſed the Ganges; after which he directed his march along the foot of mount Caucaſus, until he arrived at the ſouthern frontiers of Kaſhmire, the mahomedan king of which country ſent ambaſſadors to make ſubmiſſion. As this rout was through countries which the army had not hitherto paſſed, the ſword was not yet ſheathed, but large detachments were making excurſions to the ſouth, whilſt Tamerlane reſerved to himſelf the taſk of ſubduing the mountaineers who made any reſiſtance, or refuſed to acknowledge his ſovereignty.

From the frontiers of Kaſhmire to the frontiers of Indoſtan, the army paſſed through countries which had ſubmitted to Tamerlane at his entrance into India; and the march out of India was through the mountains of Sheberto, a part of the Caucaſus. From hence Tamerlane haſtened to Samarcande. Having repoſed a few months in this capital of his vaſt dominions, he ſet out on the great expedition in which he ſubdued Syria and the Kalif of Egypt, vanquiſhed Bajazet, and by the addition of theſe conqueſts to thoſe he had made before, rendered himſelf lord of an empire which extended from Smyrna to the banks of the Ganges.

Tamerlane never returned into India, but added the conquests he had made in it to the government of his grandson Pir Mohammed Gehanguir, who ruled from Gazna the mahomedan dominions of Indostan until the death of his grandfather, which happened in the year 1404. An event in which so many princes were interested did not fail to raise great commotions amongst the princes of his family. On his death-bed Tamerlane named Pir Mohammed Gehan Ghir the universal heir of all his dominions. The contempt with which his will was treated after his death, was equal to the veneration which had been paid to his authority during his life. The sultan Khalil, another of his grandsons, immediately took possession of the capital of Samarcande, and proclaimed himself emperor. Pir Mohammed did not live long enough to assert his rights, but was assassinated six months after the death of his grandfather.

The sultan Sharock, the youngest of the two surviving sons of Tamerlane, succeeded to the inheritance designed for Gehan Ghir: he reigned near 42 years, during which the conquests of his father in India seem to have remained in subjection to his authority.

There is in Europe an excellent history of the life of this prince, and of his descendants, continued to the year 1497. There are likewise in England materials sufficient to form a history of the dependance in which India remained to the posterity of Tamerlane, until one of them erected the new dynasty of mahomedan emperors in Indostan, which is that of the present great Moguls; but these tracts, hitherto little regarded by those, whose fortunes alone could furnish the expence of presenting them to the public in languages of common use, remain out of the reach of public curiosity by the difficulties attending the study of those in which they are written.

A few scraps detached from one another by considerable intervals of time, and by subjects of little connection with each other, would be of little

little use to guide us through such a length of obscurity as that in which we view at present the history of Tamelane's successors in India, until the time of Sultan Babr: and this obscurity must remain, until the original histories brought into England by Mr. Frazer, or others equivalent to them, shall be published.

The Sultan Babr was the 6th in descent, not from Sharoch, but from the Mirza Miran Schah, another of the sons of Tamerlane; this Babr, yielding to the conquests of the Usbeg Tartars, retired from the country of Mawhranhar towards India: after making several expeditions into Indostan, he at last in the year 1526 defeated Sultan Ibrahim Loudi, and became emperor of Delhi. Who Sultan Ibrahim Loudi was, will in all probability be known, when the commentaries of Sultan Babr, written by himself, and which are at Oxford, shall be translated. After making still farther conquests in Indostan, Sultan Babr died near Agra in the December of the year 1530.

The pride of the Great Moguls descended from Sultan Babr, in vaunting in their titles and on all other occasions, their descent from Tamerlane, has given rise to the common belief, that the throne of Delhi, and the whole extent of the conquests made by Tamerlane in India, were maintained by his posterity in a regular filiation, and without interruption. But such a succession would have given no room for Sultan Babr's conquests over a stranger, as Sultan Loudi appears to be, and would have excluded him from the honour of being the founder of the present dynasty of Great Moguls.

Homaion succeeded to his father Babr, and in 1540 fled into Persia before the Pitans, whom we imagine to have been the Mahomedan subjects of Sultan Ibrahim Loudi conquered by Babr. By the assistance of the king of Persia Homaion recovered his empire in 1555, and died in 1556. Before his flight he had conquered and added to the Mogul dominions the kingdoms of Guzerat and Malva; he had likewise taken possession of the kingdom of Bengal.

Acbar succeeded his father Homaion, and died, after a reign of near 50 years, in 1605. He extended the empire, but not so far to the southward as to prevent him from vouchsafing to stile the king of Portugal his neighbour, in virtue of the territories possessed by this nation near Goa on the coast of Malabar.

To Acbar succeeded his son Jehanguir, who died in 1627. A weak prince, enslaved by the influence of his mistress Nourjehan, confined in his person, and constrained in his government, by the ambition of his son Gehan Schah. Sir Thomas Roe was sent embassador to Jehanguir by king James the first.

Schah Gehan succeeded to his father Jehanguir; and after a reign successful until the change of his fortunes, to which a sickness of languor occasioned by intemperance in his seraglio gave rise, was deposed and confined by his son Aurengzebe, and died in 1666.

There is not a more curious piece of history than that of the rebellion of Aurengzebe against his father, written by Mr. Bernier. After having murdered his three brothers and some of their children, to acquire the throne, Aurengzebe maintained himself in it near 50 years, with so strict an attention to the government of his empire, as entitles him to be ranked with the ablest princes, who have reigned in any age or country. He conquered more than half the provinces of the Peninsula of India in person, and his viceroys conquered or subjected almost all the rest, the sea coasts of Malabar excepted. The revenues of the empire amounted in his time to near thirty-eight millions of pounds sterling. He died in 1707.

But all the abilities of Aurengzebe did not give him the power of securing his crown to one of his sons in preference to the rest, and it appears by his will that he foresaw the contests which ensued amongst them after his death. His sons Azem Schah, and Mahomed Mauzm, fought at the head of armies not equalled since the time of Tamer-

lane.

lane. That of Mahomed Mauzm consisted of more than three hundred thousand fighting men, of which one hundred and fifty thousand were cavalry. Azem, who seems by his father's will to have been the favourite, was defeated and killed, and Mauzm was proclaimed emperor, under the title of BAHADR SCHAH, after which he attacked his brother Kaunbuksh, who was taken prisoner and died of his wounds. Bahadr Schah died after reigning about six years according to Mr. Frazer.

OF four sons which survived their father Bahadr Schah, three joined against the other, defeated and killed him, and then JEHANDER SCHAH separated from the other two, defeated and put them to death; after which he was proclaimed emperor; but as he was a very weak prince, and infatuated by his mistress Lal Koar, who had been a public singer; two brothers the principal men of his court dethroned him, and placed on the throne MAHOMED FURRUKSIR son to AZEM SCHAH, the prince who fell the first of the three brothers, by whose deaths Jehander Schah acquired the crown.

WE know not what term to give to the reign of Jehander Schah, the predecessor of Furruksir, as Mr. Frazer, who is now the guide to whom we are most indebted for the history of this dynasty, seems to have made a mistake in the chronology of this period. Aurengzebe is said to have died in February 1707, and Mahomed Furruksir in February 1719, which dates give an interval of twelve years. At the same time Bahadr Schah the successor of Aurengzebe is said to have reigned about six years, Mahomed Furruksir the successor of Jehander Schah, to have reigned seven: so that we have in the reigns of these two princes, without the interposition of Jehander Schah, more than the term which elapsed between the deaths of Aurengzebe and Mahomed Furruksir, whose deaths are ascertained by dates. Mr. Frazer has not ascertained the term of Jehander Schah's reign; but if those of Bahadr Schar and Furruksir could be authentically reduced into the space to which they must be confined, it would be sufficient, according to the ideas of Mogul history, that Jehander Schah only

once performed the ceremony of ſitting in public on the throne of Delhi, to intitle him to be ranked in the liſt of the emperors of Indoſtan.

BY that dependance to the great men of the kingdom to which their conteſts for the crown had reduced the deſcendants of Aurengzebe, the emperors elected, although reverenced as deſpotic by the multitude, aſcended the throne in bonds, and were in reality nothing more than the ſlaves of their miniſters.

STILL the blood of Tamerlane continued to be held in too great veneration throughout the empire, to permit any others than his deſcendants to entertain hopes of aſcending the throne with impunity. Thoſe who ſtood neareſt to the throne, in virtue of their offices and power, were therefore contented to rule the empire as they pleaſed, by ſhewing to the people a pompous ſovereign, who in reality commanded nothing but the women of his ſeraglio.

FURRUKSIR was the firſt of the Great Moguls, whoſe father had not been emperor, and we ſhall ſoon ſee more examples of this oblique ſucceſſion. The ſame lords who had raiſed, depoſed him as a meaſure neceſſary to their own ſecurity. Not content with confining him, they put out his eyes; but even this degree of imbecillity and wretchedneſs did not appeaſe their fears or ſatisfy their reſentments. They murdered him on the 16th of February 1719, aggravating the deed with every indignity and inſult.

THESE depoſers of Furrukſir placed on the throne his couſin german Raffeih al Dirjat ſon of Raffeih al Shan, one of the brothers from whom the emperor Jehander Schah won the crown. Raffeih al Dirjat was taken out of the caſtle in which thoſe of the royal family who are not murdered are ſuffered to live. This change of his fortunes was not more extraordinary than it was of ſhort duration;

tion; for the ſame diſpoſers of the throne who had made him emperor, murdered him when he had ſcarcely reigned three months.

THEY then took Raffeih al Dowlet, brother of Raffeih al Dirjat, probably out of the ſame place of confinement, and placed him on the throne. The reign of this emperor was of ſhorter duration than that of his brother, for he died within a few days after his acceſſion, and his death was not ſuſpected to be the effect of poiſon.

MAHOMED Schah was now proclaimed by the two brothers Abdallah Khan, and Hoſſan Ally Khan, whom we have ſeen powerful enough to make four and depoſe five emperors of Indoſtan. If there were no interreigns, four of theſe ſucceſſions happened in the ſpace of four months.

MAHOMED Schah was ſon of Jehan Schah, one of the three brothers who periſhed in diſputing the crown with their brother Jehander Schah. So that a ſon of each of theſe three unfortunate princes became emperor only to be as unfortunate as his father.

BUT the greateſt humiliation, if not the moſt tragical exit, was reſerved for Mahomed Schah. But the beginning of his reign was not without a ſtroke of vigour in the mode of eaſtern politics; for his courtiers, to pleaſe him, aſſaſſinated Hoſſan Ally Khan, one of the two brothers whoſe hands had been imbrued in ſo much of the blood of his family.

THE other brother Abdullah Caun immediately appeared in arms, and oppoſed another emperor of his own nomination to Mahomed Schah. A battle enſued, in which Abdullah was taken priſoner. He died three months afterwards of his wounds; having, it is ſaid, received the aſſurance of his pardon from Mahomed Schah; which, if true, is an example of clemency very rarely found in the politics of Aſiatic monarchs.

THE removal of two such dangerous enemies to the throne, placed Mahomed Schah in possession of it with a security unknown to his predecessors, since the reign of Aurengzebe; but this security served only to render him unworthy of it. Indolent, sensual, and irresolute, he voluntarily gave to favourites as great a degree of power, as that which the ministers of the throne had lately possessed in defiance of the will of their sovereigns. The fatal moment approached, in which a foreigner was to determine whether he should exterminate the race of Tamerlane, and annex the richest empire of the universe to his own. Caundorah the vizir and favourite of Mahomed Schah quarrelled with Nizam al Muluck the viceroy of the southern provinces, who had under his jurisdiction very near a fourth part of the empire, and who without rebellion had rendered himself almost independant of the emperor. Bred under the eye of Aurengzebe, Nizam al Muluck censured openly and in the strongest terms, the lethargick and pusillanimous administration, as well as the profligate and dissolute manners of the court; hoping, no doubt, to impair the influence of his rival Caundorah. At last pretending that there could be no remedy to such desperate evils, but in a total revolution of the empire, he advised Thamas Kouli Khan, who had usurped the throne of Persia, to come and take possession of that of Indostan; and Thamas Kouli Khan followed his advice.

MR. FRAZER has left us an authentic account of this extraordinary revolution. An army famished by its own numbers, commanded by chiefs unanimous in nothing but their unwillingness to fight, and these by an emperor who could not command his fears, submitted to enemies whom they outnumbered five to one: but these enemies had been inured to conflicts under the most desperate soldier of the age, and were rendered invincible by the expectation of plundering the capital of the richest empire in the world. A skirmish decided the fate of this empire. Mahomed Schah laid his regalia at the feet of Thamas Kouli Khan, who took possession of Delhi, plundered it, and massacred a hundred thousand of its inhabitants.

THE

The conqueror reserving to himself all the countries lying to the westward of the river Indus and Attock, restored all the rest to Mahomed Schah, and reinstated him in the throne with formalities; after which he returned to Persia, carrying with him out of Indostan a treasure, which in effects, silver, gold and jewels, was valued at more than seventy millions of pounds sterling. He entered India from Kandahar in the beginning of the year 1738, and returned to Kandahar at the end of the year 1739. This dreadful incursion is reckoned to have cost Indostan, besides its treasures, the loss of two hundred thousand lives.

The cruelties exercised in India by Thamas Kouli Khan, were such, that a dervise had the courage to present a writing to him, conceived in these terms: "If thou art a god, act as a god; if thou "art a prophet, conduct us in the way of salvation; if thou art a "king, render the people happy, and do not destroy them." To which the barbarian replied, "I am no god, to act as a god; nor a "prophet, to shew the way of salvation; nor a king, to render the "people happy; but I am he whom God sends to the nations which "he has determined to visit with his wrath."

SECTION III.

THE northern nations of India, although idolaters, having ſcarce a religion, when compared to the multitude of ſuperſtitions and ceremonies which characteriſe the inhabitants of the ſouthern countries, were eaſily induced to embrace Mahomedaniſm, and are at this day the Affghans or Pitans, who figure ſo much in all the late revolutions of Delhi. Excepting theſe, few of the other Indians have been converted.

THE armies which made the firſt conqueſts for the heads of the reſpective dynaſties, or for other incurſors, left behind them numbers of Mahomedans, who, ſeduced by a finer climate and a richer country, forgot their own.

THE Mahomedan princes of India naturally gave a preference to the ſervice of men of their own religion, who, from whatever country they came, were of a more vigorous conſtitution than the ſtouteſt of the ſubjected nation: this preference has continually encouraged adventurers from Tartary, Perſia, and Arabia, to ſeek their fortunes under a government, from which they were ſure of receiving greater encouragement than they could expect at home.

FROM theſe origins, time has formed in India a mighty nation of near ten millions of Mahomedans, whom Europeans call Moors: to them, under the authority of the Great Mogul, the greateſt part of Indoſtan is now ſubject: but, although the reigning nation, they are out-numbered by the Indians ten to one.

THIS inferiority of numbers, has obliged the Mahomedans to leave in all parts of Indoſtan, many Indian princes in poſſeſſion of their reſpective ſovereignties, which they are permitted to govern without moleſtation, on condition that they pay the ſtipulated tribute, and do not

infringe any other part of the treaties by which they or their anceſtors have acknowledged the ſovereignty of the Great Mogul. Theſe Indian princes are called Rajahs, i. e. kings: more than one half of the empire is at this day ſubject to theſe Rajahs, of whom ſome are princes of very ſmall territories, and others, ſuch as Jaſſeing and Jeſſemſeing mentioned by Mr. Bernier in the hiſtory of Aurengzebe, as alſo the kings of Myſore and Tanjore mentioned in the hiſtory of the preſent wars of Coromandel, poſſeſs dominions almoſt as large as the kings of Pruſſia or Portugal. Many of them pretend to great antiquity of family, and one, whom the emperor Acbar conquered, boaſted his deſcent from Porus.

Besides the Indians who reſide in the territories of the Rajahs, there are every where ſeen great numbers of them in thoſe parts of the country which are immediately ſubject to the Great Mogul without the interpoſition of an Indian prince to govern them. They are the only cultivators of the land, and the only manufacturers of the immenſe quantities of linnen which are made in the empire; inſomuch that at a diſtance from the capital cities, the great trading towns, the encampments of armies, and the high roads, it is rare to ſee in the villages or fields a Mahomedan employed in any thing except levying contributions or acting in ſome other reſpect as an officer of the Great Mogul.

Intelligent enquirers aſſert that there are no written laws amongſt the Indians, but that a few maxims tranſmitted by tradition ſupply the place of ſuch a code in the diſcuſſion of civil cauſes; and that the ancient practice, corrected on particular occaſions by the good ſenſe of the judge, decides abſolutely in criminal caſes. In all caſes derived from the relations of blood, the Indian is worthy to be truſted with the greateſt confidence; but in caſes of property, in which this relation does not exiſt, as a cunning ſubtil people they are perpetually in diſputes; and for the want of a written code the juſtice or injuſtice of the deciſion depends on the integrity or venality of the judge. Hence the parties prefer to ſubmit their cauſe to the deciſion of arbitrators choſen by themſelves, rather than to that of the officers appointed by the government.

THE Alcoran is to the Mahomedans at once the ſource of their religious inſtitutions, of their civil law, and of the adminiſtration of juſtice in criminal caſes. The two firſt of theſe heads have been as copiouſly commented as in any religion or government whatſoever.

THE Mulla in Indoſtan ſuperintends the practice and puniſhes the breach of religious duties, the Cadi holds courts in which are tried all diſputes of property, and the Catwal is the judge and executor of juſtice in criminal caſes.

AN accurate deſcription of the functions allotted to the Cadi and the Mulla, would require a volume, which we have not materials to furniſh; and if furniſhed, this volume would leave us but imperfectly informed of the general adminiſtration of juſtice in the caſes ſuppoſed to fall under the juriſdiction of theſe officers; ſince the ſovereign or his delegate perpetually wreſts all kinds of cauſes from the common forms of trial, and decides them himſelf without appeal. Some notion of the Catwal is given by Mr. Thevenot: the puniſhments inflicted by this tribunal, are different from thoſe preſcribed by the Alcoran; from the precepts of which the Catwal likewiſe deviates in exerciſing the torture, and it contradicts them, in being always open to bribery.

WE ſee in thoſe parts of Indoſtan which are frequented by the European nations, the cuſtoms or laws which regard lands ſubject to contradictions, not eaſily reconcileable. The huſbandman who poſſeſſes a few fields has the power of ſelling and bequeathing them, at the ſame time that the diſtrict in which theſe fields are included is annually let out by the government to a renter, who pays a certain ſum of money to the lord of the country, and receives from the cultivator a certain part of his harveſts. The renter ſometimes quarrels with the huſbandman, and diſplaces him from his poſſeſſions: clamours as againſt the higheſt degree of injuſtice enſue; the prince interferes, and generally redreſſes the poor man, who has ſo much need of ſupport in ſuch a cauſe of miſery; and if he fails to give this proof of his inclination to juſtice, he is held in execration, and deemed capable of any iniquity.

In all the countries abſolutely ſubjected, the Great Mogul ſtiles himſelf proprietor of all the lands, and gives portions of them at will as revenues for life to his feudatories; but ſtill theſe grants take not away from the cultivator the right of ſale and bequeſt. The policy of all the Indian governments of Indoſtan, as well as that of the Great Mogul, ſeems to conſiſt more in a perpetual attention to prevent any one family from obtaining great poſſeſſions, than in the intention of multiplying oppreſſions upon the body of the people; for ſuch a ſlavery would ſoon leave the monarch little grandeur to boaſt of, and few ſubjects to command. As all acquiſitions of land are ſubject to the inſpection of the government, the man who ſhould attempt to make himſelf proprietor of a large eſtate in land, would be refuſed the certificates neceſſary to put him in poſſeſſion, and would be marked as a victim neceſſary to be ſacrificed to the policy of the ſtate. From what we ſee in the hiſtories of this and other eaſtern countries, the violences committed among the great, lead us to think that the man of more humble condition is ſubject to ſtill greater violences; when, on the contrary, this humility is the beſt of protections.

The Feudatory, by the acceptance of a certain title and the penſion which accompanies it, acknowledges the Great Mogul his heir. No man, from the Vizir downwards, has any truſt of importance repoſed in him but on theſe terms, and on his deceaſe the whole of his property that can be found is ſeized for the uſe of the emperor, who gives back to the family what portion he pleaſes. The eſtates of all who are not feudatories deſcend to the natural heirs.

These barriers raiſed againſt the aggrandizement of particular families became abſolutely neceſſary in a ſtate, neceſſitated to repoſe very great truſts in certain individuals.

The whole extent of Indoſtan is not divided into more than twenty-four provinces: each of theſe include ſeveral Indian principalities. A very large army ready to move at the firſt warning was found neceſ-

sary to coerce the Rajahs; the same force divided under several distinct commanders would have been ineffectual. Hence it was necessary to give a large tract of country to the government of a single officer, or to relinquish the design of extending the dominion.

This officer, now well known in Europe by the title of Nabob, was made subject to the controul of others who resided in the province with him, and over whom he had no authority. The sovereign reserved to himself the power of life and death. Civil causes were reserved to the Cadi, and the revenues and expences of the province were subject to the examination of the Duan, who managed the customs and took possession for the emperor of the estates of the feudatories who died. The Great Mogul gave the government of the strongest holds in the province to governors who were in nothing subject to the Nabob. He was called to court, kept there, or translated into another government, whenever the ministry thought these changes necessary; and there was a time when they were so frequent, that a new Nabob left Delhi riding contrary to the usual manner with his back turned to the head of his elephant, and gave for a reason, "That he was looking out for his successor."

The divisions of the royal family gave the Nabobs of provinces distant from the capital, opportunities of acquiring a stability in their governments, and the court was now content to receive a stipulated sum, in lieu of the real revenues of the province, in which the Nabob became little less than absolute, and had nothing to fear but an army from Delhi, which was always coming, and never came. But even before they arrived at this state of independence, we find them exercising the cruel caprices of despotism on wretches too weak to raise their complaints to the throne. Mandleslow tells a story of a Nabob who cut off the heads of a set of dancing girls, that is, of a company of very handsome women, because they did not come to his palace on the first summons. In Tavernier we see a man, who murders his wife, four children, and thirteen slaves, and is left unpunished, because he is the person on whom the Nabob relied for the cure of a distemper.

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The relations of all the travellers into Indostan abound with examples of the vices of these princes. It has been observed, that all the Mahomedans established in India acquire, in the third generation, the indolence and pusillanimity of the original inhabitants, and at the same time a cruelty of character to which the Indians are at present happily strangers. Hence we are almost induced to give assent to the opinion, that the prohibition of shedding blood of any kind, inculcated by the Indian religion, was a political institution, wisely calculated to change into gentler manners the sanguinary disposition, which is said to have characterised all the inhabitants of Indostan before the religion of Brama was introduced amongst them.

The END *of the* DISSERTATION.

30

TO THE READER.

SINCE the first edition of this book in 1764, Mr. ALEXANDER DOW has published a translation of *The History of the Mahomedan Conquerors in Indostan*, written originally in Persic by FERISHTA. This work of FERISHTA is an abridgement of other historians, and extends from the beginning of the reign of SEBEGTECHIN, the first of the Ghaznavide Monarchs who made conquests in Indostan, to the end of the reign of the Emperor ACBAR; that is, from the year 977 to 1605 of our Æra; and of the Mahomedan, from 365 to 1014.

FERISHTA gives the origin and regular succession of all the Kings of Ghazna and emperors of Delhi during this period, the progress of their conquests in Indostan, and the other principal events of their reigns; and thus supplies the voids and imperfections of the historical part of our *Dissertation on the Establishments made by Mahomedan Conquerors in Indostan*. We have, nevertheless, left our dissertation in its first state, that the attention of the Reader might be directed to the work of FERISHTA, which is the most curious and valuable piece of Oriental history, of which a translation has hitherto been given to Europe.

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A

HISTORY

OF THE

MILITARY TRANSACTIONS

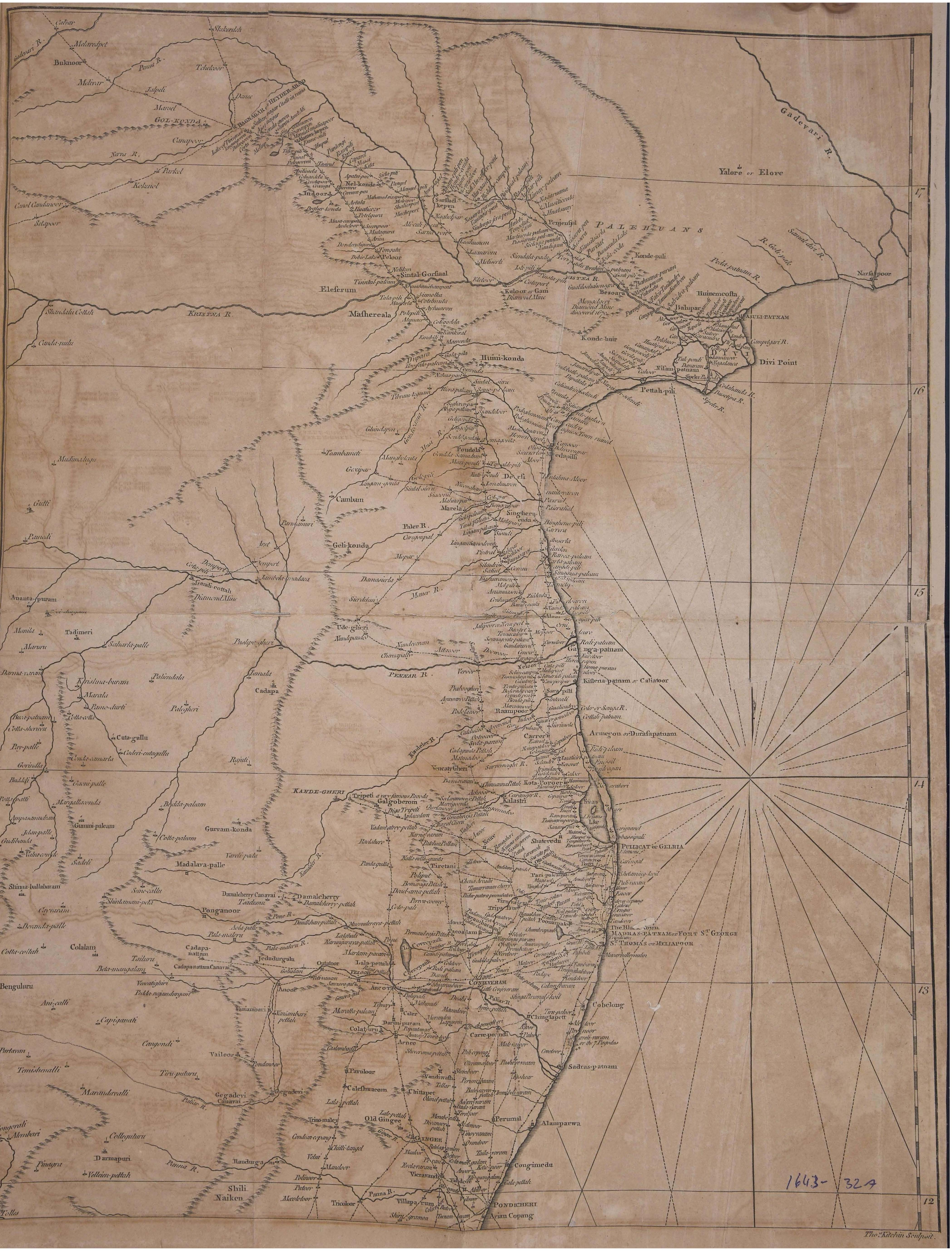
OF THE

BRITISH NATION

IN

INDOSTAN,

FROM THE YEAR MDCCXLV.



1643-324
Thos. Kitchin Sculpsit.

A

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INTRODUCTION.

THE English eſtabliſhments in the kingdom of Indoſtan are divided into three governments, independant of each other. Bombay commands the factories on the weſtern ſide of the peninſula, commonly called the Malabar coaſt; together with thoſe in Perſia: the eſtabliſhments and poſſeſſions on the eaſtern or Coromandel coaſt are under the government of Madraſs: and thoſe in Bengal depend on Calcutta. From the year 1745 to the concluſion of the late peace, the Engliſh have been continually

engaged in war, in one or other of these divisions: and the preservation of their commerce in the East-Indies absolutely depended on the conduct and success of the wars of Coromandel and Bengal. We have therefore thought that a general history of their military transactions in Indostan, during this period, would not be unacceptable to the public; more especially as there is no part of the world in which the British arms have, of late years, acquired more honour.

BOOK I.

THE WAR OF COROMANDEL.

THE war declared between Great Britain and France in 1744, extended its operations to the ſettlements of the two nations in India: peace was no ſooner reſtored to them by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, than they took up arms againſt one another, on the coaſt of Coromandel, as allies to two Mooriſh lords contending for the poſſeſſion of the province of Carnatica. The competition between theſe lords had its riſe in events, which happened ſeveral years before the Engliſh or French took part in it; it therefore becomes neceſſary to deſcribe thoſe events; and as the government, policy, and cuſtoms of the nations of Indoſtan differ greatly from thoſe of Europe, we ſhall endeavour, in the courſe of our narrative, to give as much of their character and manners, as appears neceſſary for the intelligence of the facts which we relate.

MOST of the countries which have been conquered by the Great Mogul in the peninſula of India, are comprized under one viceroyalty, called from its ſituation the Decan, or ſouth. From the word Soubah, ſignifying a province, the viceroy of this vaſt territory, is called Soubahdar, and by Europeans improperly Soubah. Of the countries under his juriſdiction, ſome are entirely ſubjected to the throne of Delhi, and governed by Mahomedans, whom Europeans as improperly call Moors; whilſt others remain under the government of their original Indian princes or Rajahs, and are ſuffered to follow their ancient

modes on condition of paying tribute to the Great Mogul. The Moorifh governors depending on the Soubah, affume, when treating with their inferiors, the title of Nabob, which fignifies Deputy: but this in the regifters of the throne is fynonimous to Soubahdar, and the greateft part of thofe who ftile themfelves Navabs, or Nabobs, are ranked at Delhi under the title of Phous-dar, which is much inferior to that which they affume, fignifying no more than the commander of a body of forces. The Europeans eftablifhed in the territories of thefe Pfeudo-Nabobs (if we may be allowed the expreffion) following the example of the natives with whom they have moft intercourfe, have agreed in giving them the title they fo much affect. In deference therefore to the cuftom which has prevailed, we fhall leave them in poffeffion of it, and in the courfe of our narration fhall likewife diftinguifh the great viceroy by that of *Soubah.*

A NABOB ought to hold his commiffion from Delhi, and if at his death a fucceffor has not been previoufly appointed by the Great Mogul, the Soubah has the right of naming a perfon to adminifter the Nabobfhip until the will of the Sovereign is known; but a Nabob thus appointed by a Soubah is not deemed authentically eftablifhed until he is confirmed from Delhi. The Soubah receives from the feveral Nabobs the annual revenues of the crown, and remits them to the treafury of the Empire. The Nabobs are obliged to accompany him in all military expeditions within the extent of his viceroyalty, but not in any without that extent. Thefe regulations were intended to place them in fuch a ftate of dependance on the Soubah as fhould render them fubfervient to the interefts of the Empire, and at the fame time leave them in a ftate of independance, which would render it difficult for the Soubah to make ufe of their affiftance to brave the throne.

THE conftitution of the Mogul Empire began to lofe its vigour immediately after the death of Aurengzebe, the ableft monarch that ever reigned over Indoftan; but fince the dreadful incurfion of the Perfians under Thamas Kouli Khan, it has declined daily more and more: fo that during the laft fifty years, Soubahs have been feen to maintain themfelves in their governments againft the will of the throne, and have confequently appointed Nabobs under them with as little regard

to

to its authority; Nabobs likewiſe have kept poſſeſſion of their governments in oppoſition both to the Soubah and the throne; and what is more extraordinary in the offices of a deſpotic ſtate, both Soubahs and Nabobs have named their ſucceſſors, who have often ſucceeded with as little oppoſition as if they had been the heirs apparent of an hereditary dominion. What we have ſaid of the government of the ſouthern provinces, is equally applicable to all the other Soubaſhips of the empire.

THE Carnatic is one of the moſt conſiderable Nabobſhips dependant on the Soubah of the Decan: from its capital it is likewiſe named the province of Arcot; but its preſent limits are greatly inferior to thoſe which bounded the ancient Carnatic before it was conquered by the Great Mogul; for we do not find that the Nabobs of Arcot have ever extended their authority beyond the river Gondegama to the north, the great chain of mountains to the weſt, and the borders of the kingdoms of Tritchinopoly, Tanjore, and Myſore to the ſouth. The ſea bounds it to the eaſt. It was not before the beginning of the preſent century that this country was entirely reduced by the Moors.

SADATULLA, a regular and acknowledged Nabob of the Carnatic, 1710.
having no iſſue, adopted the two ſons of his brother; appointing the elder, Doaſt-ally, to ſucceed in the Nabobſhip; and conferring on the younger, Boker-ally, the government of Velore; he likewiſe directed that Gulam Haſſein, the nephew of his favourite wife, ſhould be Duan or prime miniſter to his ſucceſſor. Having reigned from 1732.
the year 1710 to 1732, he died much regretted by his ſubjects.

THE diſpoſitions he had made were fulfilled without oppoſition or difficulty; but Nizam-al-muluck, the Soubah of the ſouthern provinces, beheld the acceſſion of Doaſt-ally with averſion, ſince it took effect without that deference to his authority which he was determined to eſtabliſh throughout all the governments under his juriſdiction. The jealouſy of this powerful ſuperior prevented Doaſt-ally from procuring a regular confirmation from Delhi: it is ſaid that he only obtained ſome letters of approbation from the vizir, without the proper forms of an authentic commiſſion.

DOAST-

1732. DOAST-ALLY had two ſons, of whom the eldeſt, Subder-ally, was arrived at man's eſtate when his father ſucceeded to the Nabobſhip; he had likewiſe ſeveral daughters, one of whom he had at that time given in marriage to his nephew Mortiz-ally, ſon of Boker-ally; and another to a more diſtant relation named Chunda-ſaheb. This lord gave his own daughter by a former wife in marriage to Gulam Haſſein, and availing himſelf of the incapacity of his ſon-in-law, obtained the Nabob's permiſſion to adminiſter the office of Duan in his ſtead.

THE kingdoms of Tritchinopoly and Tanjore, although tributary to the Great Mogul, were each of them governed by its own prince or Rajah, and the care of levying the tributes of theſe countries was intruſted to the Nabobs of Arcot, who were ſometimes obliged to ſend an army to facilitate the collection of them. The death of the
1736. king of Tritchinopoly in 1736, was followed by diſputes between the queen and a prince of the royal blood, which produced a confuſion in the government ſufficient to give the Nabob of Arcot hopes of ſubjecting the kingdom to his authority. He therefore determined to ſend an army under the command of his ſon Subder-ally and the Duan Chunda-ſaheb to ſeize any opportunity which might offer of getting poſſeſſion of the city of Tritchinopoly; but to prevent ſuſpicions, the collection of the tribute was given out as the only intention of the expedition, and the army was ordered to move leiſurely down to the ſea-coaſt, before they proceeded to the ſouth; accordingly they came to Madraſs, where they remained ſome days, and then went to Pondicherry, where they ſtaid a longer time; during which, Chunda-ſaheb laid the firſt foundation of his connexions with the French government in that city: from hence they marched to Tritchinopoly.

BY intrigues, of which we have not the details, Chunda-ſaheb prevailed on the queen to admit him with a body of troops into the city, having firſt taken an oath on the Koran, that he would act in nothing to her detriment: the people of the country ſay that ſhe fell in love with him; if ſo, ſhe was ill requited, for he ſoon after ſeduced the garriſon, ſeized the city, and confined her to a priſon, where ſhe died of grief. The ſubmiſſion of the reſt of the kingdom ſoon followed that

of the capital; after which, Subder-ally leaving Chunda-ſaheb to govern theſe new acquiſitions, returned to his father at Arcot, who appointed Meer-aſſud, the preceptor of Subder-ally, to ſucceed Chunda-ſaheb in the office of Duan. 1736.

THE new Duan was well acquainted with the ambitious character of his predeceſſor, and repreſented to Subder-ally the conſequences which were to be apprehended from a man of ſuch dangerous views, placed in a government of ſuch importance. Subder-ally ſaw his error when it was too late to redreſs it; for when he repreſented to his father the neceſſity of recalling Chunda-ſaheb to Arcot, the Nabob, apprehenſive of open ruptures in his family, and attached to his ſon-in-law from an opinion of his abilities, could not be induced to follow Meer-aſſud's advice.

CHUNDA-SAHEB hearing what had been attempted againſt him, took meaſures to ſecure himſelf: he put the city of Tritchinopoly in a good ſtate of defence, and placed his two brothers in the ſtrongeſt towns dependant on his ſovereignty; Buda-ſaheb in Madura, and Saduck-ſaheb in Dindigul: but notwithſtanding theſe preparations, he determined not to throw off his allegiance to the Nabob, before he ſhould be openly attacked.

IN the mean time Nizam-al-muluck's reſentments againſt the family of Doaſt-ally increaſed with their acquiſitions; for, notwithſtanding the independancy affected by Chunda-ſaheb, he did not doubt that the force of Tritchinopoly would always be united with that of Arcot, whenever danger from foreign powers ſhould threaten either of the two governments. But his attention was for ſome years taken up by affairs of much greater importance than the reducing of this family to his obedience. At one time, he was prepared to join the Great Mogul, whom he wiſhed to ſee dethroned, againſt Thamas Kouli Khan, whom he had invited to invade the Empire: and after the Perſian left Indoſtan, he was obliged to keep his arms turned towards Delhi, where he was equally dreaded and deteſted. Thus prevented from marching into the Carnatic, he at length determined to give the Morattoes permiſſion to attack it. By this meaſure he ſatisfied, in part, the obligations he lay under to that nation, 1739.

1739. tion, and at the ſame time employed a force, which, next to his own, was the moſt capable of conquering the dominions of Doaſt-ally.

THE country of the Morattoes lies between Bombay and Gol-Kondah: its limits are not known with any degree of certainty to Europeans, and we are equally ignorant of the origin and hiſtory of the people. It is now a century that they have made a figure as the moſt enterpriſing ſoldiers of Indoſtan, and as the only nation of Indians, which ſeems to make war an occupation by choice; for the Rajpouts are ſoldiers by birth. Of late years they have often been at the gates of Delhi; ſometimes in arms againſt the throne: at others, in defence of it againſt the Affghans or Pitans. The ſtrength of their armies conſiſts in their numerous cavalry, which is more capable of reſiſting fatigue than any in India; large bodies of them having been known to march fifty miles in a day. They avoid general engagements, and ſeem to have no other idea in making war, but that of doing as much miſchief as poſſible to the enemy's country. This they effect by driving off the cattle, deſtroying the harveſt, burning the villages, and by exerciſing ſuch cruelties as makes the people of the open country take flight on the firſt rumours of their approach. The rapidity of their motions leaves the prince with whom they wage war little chance of ſtriking a deciſive blow againſt them, or even of attacking with effect any of their detachments. Hence the expence of maintaining an army in the field with very little probability of even fighting ſuch an enemy, and the greater detriment ariſing from the devaſtations they commit, generally induce the governments they attack to purchaſe their retreat with money. Great parſimony in their expences, and continued collections of treaſure by the means now deſcribed, have been the principal cauſes of raiſing them, in leſs than a century, from a people of inconſiderable note, to a nation which at preſent ſtrikes terror into all the countries between Delhi and Cape Comorin. They often let out bodies of men, and ſometimes whole armies; but the hiring of them is a dangerous reſource; for the offer of better terms ſeldom fails to make them change ſides: and they ſeldom relinquiſh their practice of plundering even in the countries which they are hired to defend. But notwithſtanding

their

their warlike character, they are in other respects, the most scrupulous observers of the religion of Brama; never eating of any thing that has life, nor even killing the insects which molest them: however, a buffalo sacrificed, with many strange ceremonies, atones for the blood of their own species which they shed in war. 1739.

Before the Carnatic was conquered by the Great Mogul, the Morattoes were in possession of several fortresses and territories in the country: retreating from which before the arms of the Moors, they stipulated to receive annually a portion of the revenues, as a recompence for the possessions which they relinquished, and as a tribute for desisting from their usual predatory incursions into the province. The Nabobs of Arcot had for many years neglected to pay this tribute, and the Morattoes had refrained from their usual methods of obtaining reparation, from no other motive than their great fear of Nizam-al-muluck: but this restraint was now removed by the encouragement which they received from him to invade the Carnatic. At the same time the kings of Mysore and Tanjore, in resentment of the injuries they had suffered from Chunda-saheb in his government of Tritchinopoly, incited them, as brethren of the same religion, to attack the Carnatic, and to revenge the violations committed in their temples and holy places by that Mahomedan governor, and the Moors in his service.

In the month of May, 1740, an army of 10000 Morattoes, under the command of Ragogee Bonsola, approached the province with their usual rapidity, and arrived at the mountains, which separate it from the western country, before Doast-ally was able to collect the whole of his forces to oppose them; for a large part of his army happened at that time to be employed to the southward, under the command of his son Subder-ally. The Nabob, however, marched from Arcot with what troops he was able to assemble, about 4000 horse and 6000 foot, and with these determined to defend the passes of Damal-cherri, through which the Morattoes intended to enter the province, until he could be succoured by his son's army, and the other troops of the province, which were advancing to his assistance: it is thought he would have succeeded in this intention 1740.

1740. tention if he had not been betrayed by one of his officers, an Indian, who suffered the Morattoes to pass the station where he commanded. The next day, being the 20th of May, the whole army appeared in the Nabob's rear, which was not defended by intrenchments, and having every advantage, attacked his troops with great fury; who, encouraged by the example of their prince, defended themselves resolutely for several hours, until they saw him, together with his son Hassan-ally, fall dead from their elephants on the field of battle; the rout was then general; most of the principal officers of the army were slain, and Meer-assud, the Duan, was taken prisoner.

Subder-ally, with the troops under his command, was advanced as far as Arcot when he heard of his father's fate, upon which he immediately took refuge in Velore. Chunda-saheb likewise took the field with 5000 horse and 10000 foot, giving out that he intended to march to the Nabob's assistance; but by contrived delays he kept at a distance from the field of battle, and as soon as he heard of the Nabob's defeat, hastened back to Tritchinopoly.

The Morattoes, after their victory, sent detachments to plunder and levy contributions in every part of the province, but found that what they acquired by these means did not answer their expectations; for the wealthy inhabitants had removed all their valuable effects into the strong holds with which the province abounds. Thus disappointed, they readily listened to the proposals of their prisoner Meer-assud, who was empowered by Subder-ally from Velore to treat with them: it was agreed that they should be paid, at stated periods, 10,000,000 of rupees, equal to one year's revenue of the province, on condition that they quitted the Carnatic immediately; thus much was made public, but another article was kept secret. As soon as the treaty was ratified, Subder-ally assumed the title and authority of Nabob; but this power was now so much impaired, that Chunda-saheb thinking he had nothing to apprehend from it, came to Arcot to do homage to him: however, the splendor of his retinue, and the military force which accompanied him, made him appear rather the equal than the dependant of Subder-ally.

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The fortifications of Pondicherry were at this time in ſuch reputation, amongſt a people who had never before ſeen any thing equal to them, that the late Nabob, as well as Subder-ally and Chunda-ſaheb, had ſent their wives, children, and treaſures, to remain there during the war. As ſoon as the Morattoes quitted the province, Subder-ally and Chunda-ſaheb, attended by a large retinue, went to Pondicherry, where they ſtayed ſeveral days. Subder-ally returning to Arcot, took with him his own and his father's family; but Chunda-ſaheb proceeding to Tritchinopoly, left the women of his family and one of his ſons there. 1740.

In the month of December the province was again ſtruck with conſternation by the return of the ſame army of Morattoes which had lately afflicted it with ſo many calamities. This ſecond irruption was in conſequence of the ſecret engagement which they had made with Subder-ally.

Beſides the ſum of money which he had agreed to pay them, they had farther inſiſted on receiving ſome territories in ſovereignty, and in this demand Meer-aſſud found them ſo inflexible, that, conſidering the territories of Tritchinopoly ſerved only to render the power of Chunda-ſaheb formidable to his maſter, he conſented to yield thoſe countries to the Morattoes, on condition that they ſhould attack them at their own expence: this they agreed to do, and at the ſame time engaged to diſpoſe of Chunda-ſaheb, if he fell into their hands, in ſuch a manner as ſhould be moſt conducive to the intereſts of the Nabob of Arcot.

Tritchinopoly was ſtrongly fortified in the Indian manner of defence; and Chunda-ſaheb, on the firſt news of the approach of the Morattoes againſt Doaſt-ally, ſtored it with a great quantity of grain, which is conſidered as the beſt ſecurity of a fortified place amongſt a people who are very little ſkilled in the uſe of cannon or other engines of battery. Meer-aſſud therefore foreſeeing that he would be able to protract his defence as long as his proviſions laſted, adviſed the Morattoes to quit the Carnatic, and to encamp at ſuch a diſtance as might prevent any ſuſpicion of their intentions to return. This artful conduct produced the effect intended by it; for Chunda-ſaheb imagining that the Morattoes were meditating expeditions into other

1740. provinces, ſold his ſtores of grain; of which they no ſooner received intelligence than they ſet out from their camp at Sevegunga, and by very expeditious marches appeared in ſight of Tritchinopoly before he could remedy the diſtreſs to which he had ſo unwarily reduced it.

1741. They inveſted the city cloſely, and were attentive to prevent the introduction of any ſupplies or reinforcements; nevertheleſs the brothers of Chunda-ſaheb attempted to relieve it. Buda-ſaheb advanced from Madura with a large convoy of proviſions, eſcorted by 3000 horſe and 7000 foot: the Morattoes detached 20000 men to intercept this reinforcement, which defended itſelf with bravery until Buda-ſaheb fell, when the death of the leader was followed by a general rout, as it always happens in the battles of Indoſtan: they cut off Buda-ſaheb's head, and ſent it to Chunda-ſaheb as a confirmation of his brother's defeat. Another detachment attacked Saduck-ſaheb, approaching from Dindigul with 1500 horſe and 3000 foot, who were likewiſe defeated after a ſharp fight, which ended with the death of Saduck-ſaheb.

Chunda-ſaheb, notwithſtanding theſe misfortunes, continued to defend the city with great reſolution, and protracted the ſiege until the greateſt part of his proviſions was conſumed, and a conſiderable number of his men, with ſome of his beſt officers, killed; the dread of famine had alſo cauſed many to deſert: thoſe remaining, worn out with fatigues, called upon him with one voice to ſurrender. He delivered up the city and himſelf on the 26th of March, 1741, after having ſuſtained a ſiege of three months. The Morattoes placed him, with his ſon, and ſeveral principal officers, under the ſtricteſt confinement, intending to be well paid for the ranſom of their perſons. After ſome time ſpent in draining Tritchinopoly of all they could find valuable in it, they appointed Morari-row, one of their generals, viceroy of the kingdom, and leaving 14000 of their beſt troops under his command, returned to their own country, where they confined their priſoners in a ſtrong fort in the neighbourhood of Sattarah their metropolis.

The Morattoes, by the poſſeſſion of Tritchinopoly, were now become of enemies, allies to Subder-ally; and the impriſonment of Chunda-ſaheb at ſuch a diſtance from the Carnatic, removed the only

only leader deemed capable of exciting inteſtine commotions. But 1741.
the reſentment of Nizam-al-muluck ſtill remained to be appeaſed, which could only be done by remitting to him thoſe large arrears of revenues which the Nabob Doaſt-ally, availing himſelf of the convulſions of the empire, had withheld. Subder-ally therefore was convinced that a ſtorm would break upon him from this quarter as ſoon as Nizam-al-muluck himſelf ſhould have none to fear from Delhi: but as this time was not yet come, he determined not to exhauſt his treaſures from the apprehenſion of dangers, which, although probable, were ſtill uncertain; he amuſed Nizam-al-muluck with humble excuſes, founded on the poverty to which he pretended to be reduced by the incurſion of the Morattoes, and even demeaned himſelf ſo far as to give out he intended to go to Arabia, and there ſpend the remainder of his days in acts of devotion at the tomb of his prophet.

The poverty to which he pretended to be reduced was as little real as the ſpirit of devotion which he affected, for the greateſt part of his father's treaſures had been preſerved under the care of his mother, when ſhe took refuge in Pondicherry. However, the late calamities left ſuch an impreſſion of terror upon his mind, that he did not venture to keep his court in the open and defenceleſs city of Arcot, but 1742.
took up his reſidence in Velore, which was well fortified, and its citadel built two hundred years ago by the Morattoes, the ſtrongeſt in the Carnatic: with the ſame ſpirit of precaution he ſent the women and children of his family, together with his treaſures, to Madraſs; giving this preference to the Engliſh nation by the advice of Meer-aſſud, who already ſuſpected the connexions which ſubſiſted between Chunda-ſaheb and Mr. Dupleix, the governor of Pondicherry. From Velore the Nabob made ſeveral viſits to his family at Madraſs, and theſe journies were reported to Nizam-al-muluck as proofs of his intention to proceed from thence by ſea to Mecca.

The commanders of all the towns and forts in the Carnatic had been aſſeſſed in ſums proportioned to their incomes, which were levied at ſtated periods, in order to diſcharge the ranſom of the province due to the Morattoes. The government of Velore was the richeſt

1742. richest fief subject to the Nabobship of Arcot, and by the treasures which Mortiz-ally inherited from his father, as also by a very parsimonious management of the revenues of his government, he was become the richest man in the province. Having married the sister of Subder-ally, and being likewise nearly related to him by birth, he thought that these titles of kindred, joined to the reception which he gave to the Nabob and his court, would excuse him from the necessity of furnishing what remained due of his proportion of the general assessment; but the Nabob, who knew the Morattoes were not to be disappointed with impunity, and who was as unwilling as Mortiz-ally to disburse his private treasures until the last extremity, determined to obliged him to furnish his contingent with the same punctuality as the other governors of the province. Many of these were attentive to the conduct of the governor of Velore, and were ready to withhold their proportions of the assessment as soon as they should find a respectable leader to set the example, and to support them in the consequences of refusing to obey the Nabob's orders; they therefore confederated with Mortiz-ally, and represented to him, that Nizam-al-muluck, the Soubah of the southern provinces, would behold with satisfaction even the most desperate measure which might be taken by the officers of the Carnatic, against a prince who paid so little deference to his authority.

Mortiz-ally, born cruel and treacherous, had no restraints in his composition to stop his hand from the perpetration of any crime by which his avarice, ambition, or revenge could be gratified: he was indeed by many suspected of being uncommonly deficient in personal courage, but this persuasion seems to have taken its rise from the suspicious habits of his domestic life; since he never moved, even in his own palace, without being surrounded by guards, nor ever ventured to taste any thing that was not brought to him in a vessel to which his wife had affixed her seal. The Nabob therefore held the pusillanimous character of his brother-in-law in the greatest contempt, and apprehended no danger from a man who lived in perpetual apprehensions of poison from his own family and domestics. Mortiz-ally still continued to evade the payment of his arrears of the assessment; and the

Nabob,

Nabob, wearied by trifling excuses, one day in public imprudently threatened to dispossess him of his government, if he evaded any longer to comply with his orders. This outrage immediately flung him into the closest connection with the dissatisfied governors, who now flattered his ambition, by assuring him that they would acknowledge him Nabob of Arcot as soon as Subder-ally should be removed. 1742.

The Nabob's army was encamped within the suburbs and under the walls of Velore: a body of guards and a numerous retinue constantly attended him within the fort, so that he seemed in no danger from open violence, or secret treachery. But nothing of the conspiracy transpired; and he was unfortunately confirmed in his security by the extreme humility with which Mortiz-ally carried himself after the outrage he had received.

At the time of that festival to which the Mahomedans of Indostan have the greatest devotion, all the Nabob's servants asked permission to be absent for two or three days to celebrate it in their own families. Contrary to the usual custom of the courts of Indostan, the Nabob suffered all his retinue and guards, excepting four persons, to quit him; and so little was he suspicious of the danger to which he exposed himself by this unguarded indulgence, that he even desired some of the officers and menial servants of Mortiz-ally might attend him during the absence of his own. Mortiz-ally determined not to lose this opportunity, which was such as might never offer again, to strike the blow he had meditated. On the 2d of October, the day after the Nabob's retinue had left him, the victuals prepared for his table were poisoned. The Nabob had scarcely finished his meal before he began to be greatly disordered, and although the strength of his constitution, with timely assistance, enabled him to throw off the mortal effects of the poison, yet it left him much enfeebled. Even this attack did not thoroughly awaken his suspicions, which those of Mortiz-ally's family, who waited on him, contributed to stifle, by representing his indisposition to be the access of a bilious disorder, very common in India. Mortiz-ally knew he had no time to lose, and proposed to some of his officers, in whom he had the most confidence, to go and put an end to the Nabob's life. It is said that all refused

1742. refuſed to ſerve him in this cruel commiſſion, excepting one, whoſe wife Subder-ally had formerly debauched: this man, a Pitan, having engaged ſome Abyſſinian ſlaves, led them at midnight to the Nabob's apartment, where the few ſervants who attended the Nabob were aſleep round his bed. They were immediately ſeized, and prevented from making reſiſtance. The Nabob himſelf, inſtead of taking up his arms, attempted to make his eſcape through a window. The leader of the aſſaſſins ſeized him before he could paſs through it, and upbraiding him with the injury of his adultery, and exulting in the revenge he was taking, killed him with ſeveral ſtabs of a poniard.

Meer-aſſud the Duan was in the fort, and the inviolable attachment which this miniſter was known to bear to his maſter, ſuggeſted to Mortiz-ally the intention of deſtroying ſo dangerous a witneſs of the murder which he had committed. The orders were given to put him to death, when ſome of Mortiz-ally's officers repreſented to him the neceſſity of preſerving the life of a man, from whom alone he could obtain that knowledge of the affairs of the Carnatic, which would be neceſſary for his own conduct, as ſoon as he ſhould be declared Nabob. Theſe repreſentations were dictated by reverence to the character of Meer-aſſud, whoſe virtues preſerved him in this inſtant of imminent danger from the deſtruction to which he had been doomed.

The gates of the fort of Velore were ſtrictly guarded during this night of terror, and thoſe only who produced a particular permiſſion were ſuffered to paſs out the enſuing day. So that the news of Subder-ally Khan's death was carried the next morning to the army encamped near Velore, by emiſſaries employed by Mortiz-ally himſelf, who repreſented it as an accident in which their maſter had no part, and imputed it to the ſudden reſentment of ſome of the principal officers, of whom the Nabob had treated ſeveral with ignominious language, and had affronted one by a blow. But ſuch was the general opinion of Mortiz-ally's character, that the ſoldiery immediately flew to their arms, and cried out in tumult, that their Nabob had been aſſaſſinated by the governor of Velore. The principal officers of the army were abſent celebrating the

feaſt;

feaſt; and the ſoldiery left to their own conduct, in the firſt impulſe of deteſtation, threatened to ſtorm the fort immediately, and to maſſacre all who were in it; but, on recollection of its ſtrength, this reſolution ſubſided, and they agreed to wait the return of their officers, before they ſhould proceed to extremities. The emiſſaries of Mortiz-ally took advantage of this ſuſpenſion of their rage, and called to their recollection the great arrears of pay, which were due to them from Subder-ally, who, although well able, had conſtantly evaded to ſatisfy their demands: whereas if the army, they ſaid, would admit Mortiz-ally's pretenſions to the Nabobſhip of Arcot, and declare in his favour, he would doubtleſs agree to pay all that was due to them. 1742.

The armies of the Mahomedan princes of Indoſtan are compoſed of a number of diſtinct bodies of troops inliſted by different leaders; who, with their bands, enter into, and quit the ſervice of different princes, according to the advantages which they expect to receive. Hence the degree of reliance which a prince can have on his army is proportioned to the treaſures of which he is poſſeſſed, joined to his inclination to diſburſe them; and it is common in the wars of Indoſtan to ſee large bodies of troops going over to the enemy on the very field of battle. The army at Velore forgot its reſentments againſt Mortiz-ally in proportion as the terms propoſed by his emiſſaries appeared to be real. The officers, as they arrived in the camp, were immediately brought over to his intereſt by preſents; accounts were adjuſted, times of payment were ſtipulated, and all, officers as well as ſoldiers, agreed to acknowledge Mortiz-ally Nabob of the Carnatic, within two days after he had murdered Subder-ally.

Mortiz-ally now pitched his tents without the gates of Velore, and cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed Nabob. In November he made his entry with pomp into the city of Arcot, and was again proclaimed there.

As ſoon as the firſt agitations which this ſudden and unexpected revolution had occaſioned began to ſubſide, ſeveral of the principal officers in the Carnatic communicated to one another their ſentiments on his acceſſion, and concurred in a deteſtation of it: Theſe

1742. applied to Morari-row, the Morattoe governor of Tritchinopoly, who did not hesitate to declare openly against him. The English at Madrass were requested to protect the son and family of Subder-ally, together with their wealth, notwithstanding any menaces which they might receive from Mortiz-ally; who did not fail to demand this prey, and had the vexation to find it placed out of his reach. Several of the principal officers of the army, won by the friends of Subder-ally's family, engaged to effect a general revolt. On a sudden the army demanded immediate payment of the whole of their arrears, which at Velore they had agreed to receive at distant periods, and surrounding the palace in tumult, accompanied their demands with threats.

Mortiz-ally had not courage to stand this storm; but immediately determined to place himself out of the reach of danger. Women of rank in Indostan never appear in public; and travel in covered carriages, which are very rarely stopped or examined even in times of suspicion. He therefore disguised himself in a woman's dress, quitted Arcot in the night, in a covered Pallankin, accompanied by several female attendants, and in this equipage gained his fort of Velore without interruption.

As soon as his flight was discovered, the army proclaimed Seid Mahomed Khan, the son of Subder-ally, an infant who resided in Madrass with his mother. The government of the province was entrusted to a Duan chosen by the friends of the family, and the young Nabob and his mother were removed from Madrass to Vandiwash, the fort of Tuckia-saheb, who had married one of the sisters of Subder-ally.

1743. These revolutions in the Carnatic happened at a time when Nizam-al-muluck, having no longer any thing to apprehend from the politics of the court of Delhi, where he had obtained for his son Ghazi-o'din Khan the post of captain general of the Mogul's armies, was preparing to visit the Carnatic. He left Gol-Kondah in the beginning of the year 1743, and arrived at Arcot in the month of March following. His army is said to have consisted of 80,000 horse and 200,000 foot. Their numbers, and the reputation of their leader,

leader, deterred all the princes of the countries through which they passed from making any resistance: and they entered the province of Arcot with as little opposition. When arrived at the city, Nizam-al-muluck was struck with amazement at the anarchy which prevailed in every part of the government. Every governor of a fort, and every commander of a district, had assumed the title of Nabob, and had given to the officers of his retinue the same names as distinguished the persons who held the most considerable employments in the court of the Soubah. One day, after having received the homage of several of these little lords, Nizam-al-muluck said, that he had that day seen no less than eighteen Nabobs in the Carnatic; whereas he had always imagined that there was but one in all the southern provinces. He then turned to his guards, and ordered them to scourge the first person who, for the future, should in his presence assume the title of Nabob. 1743.

The young son of Subder-ally, accompanied by several of his principal officers, paid his visit of homage to the Soubah, who refused him the permission of returning to Vandiwash, and ordered some of his own officers to take charge of his person, directing them to treat him with lenity and respect. He then appointed Coja Abdulla Khan, the general of his army, Nabob of Arcot, and of all its dependencies, and sent a summons to Morari-row the governor of Tritchinopoly, to surrender the city. Finding that the Morattoe persisted in refusing to obey his orders, he marched with his whole army, and sat down before it: presents and promises supplied the place of hostilities in reducing it. In the month of August Morari-row evacuated Tritchinopoly, and soon after quitted the Carnatic with all his Morattoes. 1744.

Nizam-al-muluck having thus settled the affairs of the province without unsheathing the sword, returned to Gol-Kondah. Coja Abdullah continued to command the army until it arrived there; leaving one of his dependants to administer the government of Arcot during his absence. It was not before the month of March in the next year that he prepared to return, and after having been distinguished with particular honours on the day that he took leave of the Soubah,

1744. Soubah, was the next morning found dead in his bed. His body bore marks of poiſon; but as the hand from which it came could never be diſcovered, it was imputed to the perſon who received the moſt advantage from it, by ſucceeding him in the government of the Carnatic. This was An'war-odean, who was immediately nominated to that employment, and arrived at Arcot in the month of April.

The introduction of this ſtranger into the Carnatic was the ſource of many of the events which it is the intention of this narrative to commemorate; and there are ſo many and ſuch injurious miſrepreſentations of his origin, and of that part of his life which preceded his acceſſion to the Nabobſhip, that it is neceſſary to invalidate them by an impartial deſcription of his hiſtory.

Anawar, the father of An'war-odean, diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his great erudition, and by the application of it to explanations of the original text of the Koran: he made the pilgrimage of Mecca, without which proof of piety it is difficult, among Mahomedans, to acquire the reputation of a truly devout man. At his return from this voyage he was appointed by Aurengzebe, to be one of thoſe religious officers who are appointed to offer up daily prayers for the health and proſperity of the ſovereign. In conſequence of this appointment, he received a penſion, and was ennobled by being ranked as a commander of 250 horſe, with the right of taking the title of Khan, which ſignifies Lord, or rather Chieftain. This title would appear incompatible with the character of a religious man, if every title of nobility in Indoſtan did not conſiſt in a military commiſſion; by which it is ſuppoſed, although rarely inſiſted on, that the perſon who receives the commiſſion ſhall maintain a certain number of horſe for the Emperor's ſervice. With theſe honours and advantages Anawar retired to Gopee-mahoo, and there finiſhed his days.

His ſon An'war-odean went to court with recommendations from his father, which procured him a title of the ſame rank as had been given to his father: he was afterwards raiſed to the command of 500 horſe, and was appointed governor of the diſtrict of Coora-Gehanabad.

nabad. Ill ſucceſs, or perhaps ill conduct, preventing him from being able to pay the uſual revenues of his government to the throne, he quitted it privately and went to Amedabad. Here Gazi-o'din Khan, the Soubah of the ſouthern provinces, gave him a poſt of conſiderable truſt and profit in the city of Surat, whilſt his friends at Delhi took care to prevent further enquiries concerning him, by reporting him dead. After the death of Gazi-o'din Khan, father of Nizam-al-muluck, An'war-odean went to pay his court to Nizam-al-muluck, who had ſucceeded to the Soubahſhip of the ſouthern provinces, and was by him appointed Nabob of the Yalore and Raja-mundrum countries, which he governed from the year 1725 to 1741. When Nizam-al-muluck was preparing to viſit the Carnatic, An'war-odean attended his court, and was left by him in one of the principal ſtations in the city and territory of Gol-Kondah; and a very few days after the death of Coja Abdulla, Nizam-al-muluck appointed him to adminiſter the government of the Carnatic, in which choice he ſeems to have been influenced by his opinion of the neceſſity of placing a province, in which he ſuſpected commotions, under the direction of a brave and experienced ſoldier; ſuch was An'war-odean. 1744.

There is no country in which the titles of deſcent are leſs inſtrumental to the fortunes of men than they are in Indoſtan; none but thoſe of the royal blood are conſidered as hereditary nobility; to all others, the excluſion is ſo abſolute, that a new act from the ſovereign is neceſſary to ennoble even the ſon of the Grand Vizir of the empire. The field of fortune is open to every man who has courage enough to make uſe of his ſword, or to whom nature has given ſuperior talents of mind. Hence it happens, that half the grandees of Indoſtan have arrived to the higheſt employments in the empire from conditions not leſs humble than that of An'war-odean Khan; againſt whoſe acceſſion to the Nabobſhip of the Carnatic, the people had taken an averſion, from cauſes independent of his perſonal character.

During the 30 years which preceded the viſitation of Nizam-al-muluck, the Carnatic had been governed by the ſame family, in a

ſucceſſion

1744. ſucceſſion of three Nabobs, who, availing themſelves of the general confuſion of the empire, had acquired a greater ſtability in their office than is the uſual lot of governors in Indoſtan. The Nabobs of this family, conſidering the ſovereignty as a kind of inheritance, had not conducted themſelves in their adminiſtration with that ſpirit of ravage, which is the uſual conſequence of uncertain and tranſitory poſſeſſion. The revenues of the Carnatic depend upon the harveſts of grain, and theſe on the quantities of water, which are reſerved to ſupply the defect of rain during the dry ſeaſon of the year: for this purpoſe vaſt reſervoirs have been formed, of which not only the conſtruction, but even the repairs in caſes of inundation require an expence much beyond the faculties of the farmer or renter of the land. If therefore the avarice of the prince with-holds his hand from the preſervation of theſe ſources of fertility, and at the ſame time dictates to him an inflexible reſolution of receiving his uſual incomes; the farmer oppreſſed, oppreſſes the labourer, and the miſery of the people becomes complete, by the vexations of collectors exerciſed in times of ſcarcity, of which the cruel parſimony of the prince has been the principal cauſe.

It is not therefore to be wondered at that the province which had felt the good effects of a mild and generous adminiſtration, from the reigns of the family of Sadatulla Khan, ſhould behold with regret the introduction of any ſtranger whomſoever to govern the Carnatic. The young ſon of Subder-ally was the only perſon whom the province wiſhed to ſee their ruler.

In deference to this affection, and from the danger of ſhocking it at once too violently, Nizam-al-muluck gave out that he intended to confer the Nabobſhip of Arcot on this youth, as ſoon as he ſhould arrive at the age of manhood. At the ſame time he gave An'war-odean Khan all the powers neceſſary for governing the Carnatic during this interval, and committed the young prince to his care, with the authority of a guardian. From the palpable impropriety of repoſing ſo delicate a truſt in the very perſon to whom the greateſt advantages would accrue from an unfaithful diſcharge of it, Nizam-al-muluck may be ſuſpected of having diſſembled throughout this

transaction. The general joy with which the youth was received, on his arrival in the province, eclipsed all the homage that was paid to the sovereign power of his guardian; and it is supposed that the provisional Nabob did not behold without jealousy these demonstrations of the public attachment to the son of Subder-ally. 1744.

An'war-odean however did not discover any symptoms of discontent in his treatment of the young prince: on the contrary, he maintained him in a splendor adequate to his birth, and assigned the palace in the fort of Arcot for his residence. Here the young Seid Mahomed passed some time without any other inquietude, than that which he received from the importunities of a band of Pitan soldiers, who had been in the service of his father, and who pretended that a long arrear of pay was due to them.

The Pitans, whose country is in the most northern part of the Empire, are the bravest of the Mahomedan soldiery levied in Indostan. From a consciousness of this superiority, together with a reliance on the national connection which exists amongst them howsoever dispersed into the services of different princes, they have acquired an insolence and audacity of manners, which distinguishes them, as much as the hardness of their physiognomy, from every other race of men in the Empire: they treat even the lords they serve with very little of that respect which characterises all the other dependents of a sovereign in Indostan. From the known ferocity of their temper, it is thought dangerous to inflict punishment on them, even when they deserve it; as a strong spirit of revenge has familiarised them with assassination, which they seldom fail to employ whenever the smallness of their numbers disables them from taking vengeance by more open attacks. The Pitans, who had served Subder-ally Khan, continued to present themselves every day before his son, demanding their arrears with clamour and insolence.

In the month of June a wedding of one of the relations of Subder-ally was celebrated in the fort of Arcot. The young prince, as being the head of the family, was invited to preside at the ceremony. The customary invitations were likewise given to all the other relations,

1744. tions, many of whom were lords of governments in the Carnatic; among these was Mortiz-ally. The young Seid Mahomed was taught to conceal the emotions he naturally felt at seeing the murderer of his father named in the list of his friends as a guest invited with his approbation. Such are the manners of a court in Indostan. It was thought that Mortiz-ally would not venture his person out of the forts of Velore, during the first days of a new administration; but, in contradiction to this notion, he came to Arcot, and presented himself before the young prince, as one of the guests at the wedding; and was treated with distinction and respect by the regent Nabob An'war-odean Khan, who was likewise invited to the wedding.

On the day appointed for the solemnization of the marriage, twelve Pitans, with the captain of the band, presented themselves before the young prince, and demanded their arrears with a more determined spirit of insolence than they had hitherto shewn in any of their former applications. It is reckoned the highest indignity that can be offered to a soldier, to order him to retire by an expression of contempt; and if any violence is employed to remove him, he generally resents it in the instant with blood-shed. These considerations were not sufficient to restrain the zeal of Seid Mahomed's attendants from resenting the insult which was offered to their prince; and finding that expostulations did not prevail, they seized on the Pitans, and turned them out of the palace by force. The Pitans suffered themselves to be removed with much less resistance than it was expected they would have made against a treatment so repugnant to the ideas which these haughty soldiers entertain of their own importance. The same day they advanced again into the presence of Seid Mahomed, and apologized for their disrespectful behaviour: their submissions suppressed all suspicions of their conduct during the remaining part of the day.

In the evening Seid Mahomed, with Mortiz-ally and most of the other guests, were assembled, and as soon as the young prince was informed that An'war-odean was approaching, he arose from his seat, and passed into the vestibule of the hall, intending to pay his guardian the compliment of receiving him at the bottom of the steps, which led

led into the palace. He was attended by all the other guests, and 1744.
many of his own officers and guards. The thirteen Pitans, who had made their submission in the morning, appeared the foremost of the spectators in the court below, and distinguished themselves by the affectation of great reverence in their manner of saluting Seid Mahomed Khan, as soon as he appeared in the vestibule. After these compliments, their captain, with the appearance of a man sensible that he had offended his lord, and intended to submit himself at his feet, ascended the steps, and was permitted to approach within the reach of his person; when the assassin drew a dagger, and at the first blow stabbed him to the heart.

A thousand swords and poignards were drawn in an instant: the murderer was cut to pieces on the very spot; and ten of his accomplices suffered the same fate from the fury of the multitude below. During this scene of bloodshed, An'war-odean Khan arrived, and endeavoured to calm the general trepidation, by giving such orders as were necessary for the discovery of the conspirators; for the multitude had already persuaded themselves that the Pitans had been employed by some superior power.

All who beheld the young prince deprived of life by this assassination, were instantly struck with the remembrance of the murder of his father committed in Velore; murmurs from many had already declared the suspicions that were entertained of Mortiz-ally, when it was reported, that, during the general confusion, he had gained the gates of the fort, where a large body of cavalry and other troops, which composed his retinue, were waiting for him; and that, surrounded by these guards, he was already on his way to Velore. The precipitation of this flight, which appeared as much the consequence of previous dispositions as the effect of sudden fear, left no doubt that he was the author of the assassination. Nothing was now heard but curses and imprecations on his head, for the murder of the innocent and much-loved Seid Mahomed Khan, and for the murder of the father of this unfortunate prince. The people saw themselves obliged to confine their indignation to these expressions of it; for the strength of Mortiz-ally's escort required a larger body of cavalry

1744. to be sent in pursuit of it, than could be assembled within the time necessary to overtake him, Velore being no more than twelve miles distant from Arcot.

The multitude now received orders from An'war-odean to retire to their homes; and, as men struck with dismay at a common calamity, assembled in secret companies, to communicate their thoughts on the murder of which they had been spectators.

An'war-odean, either actuated by the same spirit of indignation as the people, or affecting the appearance of it, not only removed the Pitans in his service from their employments, but also gave orders that all of that nation should immediately quit the city; and, as a stronger proof of his resentment, caused their houses to be razed to the ground, a mark of infamy rarely practised, excepting the persons, whom it is intended to stigmatize, have deserved capital punishment. But these expressions of indignation did not exempt him from imputations. Many persons of rank and power in the province asserted that they had discovered secrets, which convinced them that the assassination was the result of a confederacy between him and Mortiz-ally.

They said, that the respect and attachment which were shewn by all ranks of people to Seid Mahomed, joined to the great influence which his relations bore in the Carnatic, by possessing the best forts and governments in the province, had filled the mind of An'war-odean Khan with apprehensions of conspiracies and revolts which might at one time or other remove him, in order to place Seid Mahomed in the sovereignty: that, actuated by these suspicions, he regarded the destruction of Seid Mahomed as necessary to his own security, and was only with-held from executing it by the dread of Nizam-al-muluch's resentment; which suggested to him the scheme of practising on Mortiz-ally, by such insinuations and offers, as might induce him to undertake the destruction of Seid Mahomed; but in such a manner, that, if a discovery should be made, the murder might be imputed to Mortiz-ally alone; who being persuaded of the probability of a revolution in favour of Seid Mahomed, and dreading the revenge of this prince for the murder of his father, hired the assassins,

assassins, having previously assured himself of protection from An'war-odean Khan, and even of rewards by an encrease of the Domain of Velore. 1744.

The secrets of the princes of Indostan are very difficult to be discovered. In affairs of consequence nothing, except in the most equivocal terms, is ever given by them in writing; and whenever the matter is of great importance or iniquity, it is trusted to a messenger, a man of low rank and great cunning, who bears a letter of recommendation, testifying that he is to be trusted in all he says. So indefinite a commission reserves to the lord who gives it, the resource of disavowing the transaction of his agent; and this he never fails to do, whenever the iniquity is discovered. Hence the public in Indostan, deprived of authentic evidence, are left to judge of the actions of their rulers either from probable conjectures, or from the general idea of their characters. The constitution and defects of the government have rendered poisons and assassinations, in the practice of the great, the common method of removing those who stand in opposition to the ambition of others; insomuch that a history of one century in Indostan, would furnish more examples of this nature than can be found in the history of one half of the kingdoms of Europe since the time of Charlemagne. From the frequency of these enormous practices, even the deaths which happen in the common course of nature, are imputed to those who receive immediate advantage from them. Such were the principles on which the people of the Carnatic judged and condemned An'war-odean Khan for the murder of Seid Mahomed; although no positive proofs were brought of his having been accessory to it. The most probable argument against him was founded on the early appearance of Mortiz-ally at Arcot in the days of a new administration. This was thought incompatible with the wariness of his character, without supposing a connection which assured him of protection from An'war-odean.

An'war-odean strongly denied all connections with Mortiz-ally, and challenged any proof to be brought that either he himself, or any of his dependents, had ever had any correspondence with the Pitans who

1744. who committed the murder; which he attributed solely to Mortiz-ally, alledging as a proof, that the Pitans had often been at Velore, and were known to have received many marks of favour from him. On the other hand Mortiz-ally retorted the accusation, but brought no testimonies to support his assertion: It was supposed that the only proofs which he could have brought against An'war-odean, would at the same time have condemned himself.

Although An'war-odean was not able to exculpate himself in the opinion of his subjects, he found means to convince his superior, Nizam-al-muluck, that he was entirely innocent of the blood of Seid Mahomed. Nizam-al-muluck, who never did any thing by halves, thought it necessary to give him support, in proportion as he became odious to the Carnatic, and sent him a full and regular commission for the Nabobship of Arcot soon after the death of Seid Mahomed. The province, irritated by their aversion to a lord, whose sovereignty destroyed their hopes of being ruled by one of the family they so much loved, complained loudly of the avarice and parsimony of his government, and contrasted it, much to his disadvantage, with that of their former Nabobs.

War was now declared between Great Britain and France, in consequence of which a squadron of English men of war appeared in the Indian seas. It consisted of two 60 gun ships, one of 50, and a frigate of 20 guns: these ships did not come immediately to the English settlements in Indostan, but passing beyond them, cruised in two divisions in the straits of Sunda and Malacca. They took in these stations three French ships returning from China to Europe, and one returning from Manilha to Pondicherry; the cargoes of which produced 180,000*l.* sterling. They also took a French ship at Atchin, which was converted into an English man of war of 40 guns, and called the Medway's Prize. After rendezvousing at Batavia, the squadron united appeared on the coast of Coromandel in the month of July
1745. 1745, at which time the garrison of Pondicherry consisted of no more than 436 Europeans, its fortifications were not completed, and no French squadron had hitherto appeared in India.

The

The appearance of the Engliſh ſquadron, and the report of the reinforcements which they expected from England, alarmed Mr. Dupleix for the ſafety of Pondicherry. He prevailed on the Nabob An'war-odean to inſiſt with the government of Madraſs, that the Engliſh ſhips of war ſhould not commit any hoſtilities by land againſt the French poſſeſſions in the territories of Arcot; but the Nabob at the ſame time aſſured the Engliſh, that he would oblige the French to obſerve the ſame law of neutrality, if their force ſhould hereafter become ſuperior to that of the Engliſh. The government of Madraſs remonſtrated, that they were always ready to obey his commands as far as their power extended; but that Mr. Barnet, the commander of the Engliſh ſquadron, was the immediate officer of the King of Great Britain, by whoſe orders and commiſſion he acted, independent of the Eaſt India company's agents at Madraſs. The Nabob replied, that all officers of the Engliſh nation who came to the coaſt of Coromandel were equally obliged to reſpect his government in the Carnatic; and that if Mr. Barnet, with his ſquadron, ſhould venture to act contrary to the orders he had now given, the town of Madraſs ſhould atone for their diſobedience. 1745.

Theſe threats made ſo much impreſſion upon the government of Madraſs, that they requeſted and prevailed on Commodore Barnet to confine his operations to the ſea. He therefore ſent one of the 50 gun ſhips to cruiſe in the road of Balaſore, at the entrance of the river Ganges, where ſhe took two or three French ſhips returning from different parts of India to the French ſettlements in Bengal. The reſt of the ſquadron left the coaſt of Coromandel to avoid the approaching ſtormy ſeaſon, and went to Mergui, a port ſituated on the coaſt which lies oppoſite to that of Coromandel in the Gulph of Bengal.

In the beginning of the year 1746 the ſquadron returned to the coaſt of Coromandel, and were reinforced by two 50 gun ſhips, and a frigate of 20 guns, from England: but at this time the 60 gun ſhip, in which Mr. Barnet hoiſted his flag, was found unfit for action, and, together with the 20 gun ſhip which came firſt into India, was ſent back to England. 1746.

1746. There was now certain intelligence that a French squadron was preparing to come on the coast of Coromandel, when that of the English was deprived of one of its principal advantages, by losing Commodore Barnet, who died at Fort St. David's in April. His death, happening at a time when the English affairs in India were threatened with danger, was generally regretted as a public loss, and indeed he was a man of great abilities in sea affairs.

Early in the morning of the 25th of June, the English squadron cruising to the southward of Fort St. David, near Negapatnam, descried that of the French arriving on the coast of Coromandel. It consisted of nine ships, which were commanded by Mr. De la Bourdonnais, who had equipped them at the isle of Mauritius, and afterwards, when scattered by a hurricane, had refitted them in the island of Madagascar, overcoming the greatest difficulties with such indefatigable perseverance and activity, as intitles him to a reputation equal to that of the ablest marine officer his country has produced. Of these ships one mounted 26 guns, two 28, one 30, three 34, one 36, and that on board of which Mr. De la Bourdonnais hoisted his flag mounted 70 guns, of which 60 were 18 pounders. There were but 14 other guns of this size in the whole squadron, the rest being 12 and 8 pounders. All but the 70 gun ship were bored to mount more guns than the number with which Mr. De la Bourdonnais had been able to equip them; and five of them for 50 guns. On board of the ships were 3300 men, of which 700 were either Caffres or Lascars: 3 or 400 of the whole number were rendered unfit for service by sickness.

The English squadron consisted of one 60 gun ship, three of 50, one of 40, and one frigate of 20 guns, which was too small to be brought into the action. The number of men did not amount to one half of that in the French squadron: but the English had greatly the advantage in the weight of their cannon, by which the fortune of engagements at sea is at present generally decided; and they likewise sailed better than the French, and were worked with much greater skill.

Mr. De la Bourdonnais, knowing the advantages and disadvantages of his force, had determined to decide the impending engagement by boarding

boarding the Engliſh ſhips, if it were poſſible to bring his own into the ſituations neceſſary to accompliſh this deſign. Mr. Peyton, who commanded the Engliſh ſquadron, perceiving this intention, determined to engage with his ſquadron nearer to the wind than that of the enemy, ſince in this ſituation their efforts to board would be eaſily avoided; and a great part of the day was employed in preſerving this advantage. It was not until 4 in the afternoon that the fight began: it was maintained at ſuch a diſtance that the fire of the ſmall arms from the French ſhips, notwithſtanding the great numbers and expertneſs of their muſketeers, did very little execution; but, on the other hand, the cannon of the Engliſh, from the ſame cauſe, did much leſs than might have been expected from them in a cloſer engagement. The fight finiſhed with the entrance of the night; about 35 men were killed in the Engliſh ſquadron, and the greateſt part of theſe on board the Medway's Prize. We are not exactly informed of the loſs ſuſtained by the French; but it was believed that the killed and wounded together did not amount to leſs than 300. One of their ſhips, which mounted 30 guns, was in leſs than half an hour diſmaſted, and ſo much ſhattered, that immediately after the action, Mr. De la Bourdonnais ordered her to proceed to Bengal to be refitted in the Ganges. 1746.

The next morning Mr. Peyton called a council of war, when, on a review of the condition of the ſquadron, it was not thought prudent, eſpecially as the 60 gun ſhip was extreamly leaky, to venture a ſecond engagement, before the damages it had ſuſtained were repaired. In conſequence of this reſolution, the ſhips made ſail for the harbour of Trinkanomalee in the iſland of Ceylon, and in the evening loſt ſight of the French ſquadron, which had lain to the whole day, as if challenging the Engliſh, who were to windward, to bear down and renew the fight. This appearance of reſolution in Mr. De la Bourdonnais was no more than a feint, practiſed to deter the Engliſh from doing what he moſt dreaded; for moſt of his ſhips had expended the greateſt part of their ammunition, and ſeveral of them had not victuals on board for twenty-four hours.

In the night of the enſuing day the French ſquadron, now conſiſting of eight ſhips, arrived in the road of Pondicherry; where Mr. Du-

1746. pleix commanded, for the French Eaſt India company, all the eſtabliſhments of his nation in India, the iſlands of Mauritius and Bourbon excepted. Theſe were under the government of Mr. De la Bourdonnais, to whom all the operations of the ſquadron were intruſted, independent of the controul of Mr. Dupleix.

The reputation and riches which it was probable Mr. De la Bourdonnais would gain in the command of his armament, created jealouſy in the mind of Mr. Dupleix. Diſſenſions aroſe between the two commanders: but the zeal of Mr. De la Bourdonnais did not ſuffer the intereſts of his nation to be ſacrificed to them. Judging that the force which he commanded could not be employed by land with any probability of ſucceſs, until the Engliſh ſquadron ſhould be either ruined or forced to quit the coaſt of Coromandel; he determined to go in queſt of them as ſoon as his own ſhips were refitted and provided with 30 or 40 pieces more of heavy cannon than they mounted on leaving the iſland of Mauritius.

On the 24th of July the French ſquadron ſailed from Pondicherry, working to the ſouthward againſt the ſouthern monſoon, and on the 6th of Auguſt diſcovered the Engliſh, which had been refitted at Trincanomalee. The Engliſh perceiving the addition of cannon with which the enemy had been ſupplied at Pondicherry, avoided an engagement. The two ſquadrons were three days in ſight of each other, after which, according to Mr. De la Bourdonnais's account, the Engliſh ſhips, availing themſelves of the advantage of ſailing better than the French, diſappeared.

Mr. De la Bourdonnais returned with his ſhips to Pondicherry, imagining that the Engliſh ſquadron would remain on the coaſt of Coromandel, at leaſt with the hope of deterring him from attempting any operations againſt the Engliſh ſettlements. But encouraged by their ſhyneſs at the laſt meeting, he now determined to lay ſiege to Madraſs.

The Engliſh, informed of the preparations which were making at Pondicherry to attack them, called on the Nabob to fulfil his promiſe of reſtraining the French from committing hoſtilities againſt them by land. But they omitted to employ the moſt certain means

means of obtaining his protection, by neglecting to accompany their application for his assistance with a present of money. This ill-judged parsimony left the Nabob so lukewarm in their interests, that although he did not give Mr. Dupleix a positive permission, he refrained from making any preparations, or even from using menaces to prevent the French from attacking Madrass. 1746.

This settlement had been about 100 years the principal establishment of the English nation on the coast of Coromandel. It was in a territory granted by the Great Mogul to the East India company, which extended about five miles along the sea shore, and about one mile in land. The town consisted of three divisions; that to the south extended about 400 yards in length from north to south, and about 100 yards in breadth: none but the English, or other Europeans under their protection, resided in this division, which contained about 50 good houses, an English and a Roman Catholic church, together with the residence of the factory, and other buildings belonging to the company: it was surrounded with a slender wall, defended with four bastions and as many batteries, but these were very slight and defective in their construction, nor had they any outworks to defend them: this quarter has long been known in Europe by the name of Fort St. George, and was in India called for distinction the White Town. On the north of this, and contiguous, was another division, much larger and worse fortified, in which were many very good habitations belonging to the Armenian and to the richest of the Indian merchants, who resided in the company's territory: this quarter was called the Black Town. Beyond this division, and to the north of it, was a suburb, where the Indian natives of all ranks had their habitations promiscuously. Besides these three divisions, which composed the town of Madrass, there were two large and populous villages about a mile to the southward of it, within the company's territory, and these were likewise inhabited by Indian natives.

The trade from England to the coast of Coromandel, together with that which is carried on by merchants of various nations from one part of India to another, had raised Madrass to a degree of opulence and reputation, which rendered it inferior to none of the Eu-

1746. ropean eſtabliſhments in India, excepting Goa and Batavia. There were 250,000 inhabitants in the company's territory, of which the greateſt part were natives of India of various caſts and religions: amongſt theſe were three or four thouſand of thoſe Indian chriſtians who call themſelves Portugueſe, and pretend to be deſcended from that nation. The Engliſh in the colony did not exceed the number of 300 men: and 200 of theſe were the ſoldiers of the garriſon; but none of them excepting two or three of their officers, had ever ſeen any other ſervice than that of the parade: the reſt of the Engliſh inhabitants, ſolely employed in the occupations of commerce, were ſtill more unfit for military ſervices. At the ſame time the defence of the place depended on this ſmall number of Engliſh ſubjects; for it was known that the reſt of the inhabitants, regarding themſelves as neutrals, would take flight on the firſt approach of danger.

On the 18th of Auguſt the French ſquadron appeared and cannonaded the town, but without doing any damage. They attempted to take a ſhip belonging to the Engliſh company out of the road; but ſhe moved into ſhoal-water, ſo near the batteries of the fort, that the French did not venture to attack her with arm'd boats; and it was evident, from the unſkilfulneſs of their operations during this cruiſe, that Mr. De la Bourdonnais did not command them in perſon: he was at this time in Pondicherry, confined to his bed by ſickneſs.

The protection of the Engliſh ſettlements on the coaſt of Coromandel was the principal object for which the ſquadron had been ſent into India; and their appearance before Madraſs was at this time thought ſo neceſſary to its defence, that the inhabitants were in hourly expectation of ſeeing them, although they had received no intelligence of them ſince they were laſt ſeen, ſix weeks before, by Mr. De la Bourdonnais. The conſternation of the town was therefore little leſs than deſpair, when it was reported that they had appeared on the 23d of Auguſt 30 miles to the northward of Madraſs, in ſight of the Dutch ſettlement of Palliacatte, from whence they had again put out to ſea, and diſappeared. They proceeded to Bengal; for the 60 gun ſhip was ſo leaky, that it was feared the ſhock of firing her

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own cannon would ſink her, if ſhe ſhould be brought into an engagement. 1746.

On the 3d of September the French ſquadron anchored four leagues to the ſouth of Madraſs, having on board the troops, artillery and ſtores intended for the ſiege. Here a part of the troops was landed, and marching along the coaſt advanced the next day within cannon ſhot of the town, where the reſt of the ſoldiers were landed. The whole conſiſted of 1100 Europeans, 400 Caffres, and 400 Indian natives diſciplined in the European manner. There remained on board of the ſquadron 1800 European mariners.

Mr. De la Bourdonnais directed his attack againſt the White Town, in which the Engliſh reſided: the northern ſide of this diviſion could not be attacked by cannon, as the houſes of the next diviſion almoſt touched the wall, which ſeparated them from each other: the eaſtern ſide could only be battered from the ſea; but the ſouth and weſt lay open to the plain. On the 7th of September the French began to bombard the town, from a battery of nine mortars, which they erected to the weſtward, under the ſhelter of a large houſe, within 500 yards of the walls. In the evening three of their largeſt ſhips drew as near as the depth of water would permit, and cannonaded the town. In the night Mr. De la Bourdonnais was flung into great perplexity, by intelligence that ſome large ſhips were ſeen to the ſouthward of Pondicherry: which indeed was contradicted in the morning: but the firſt report cauſed ſo much alarm in the French camp, that they were preparing to reſhip their heavy cannon.

On the 8th of September the French had finiſhed a battery of five mortars to the ſouth, and bombarded the town without intermiſſion until the next morning, when two Engliſh deputies went to their camp, to treat with Mr. De la Bourdonnais, who inſiſted that the town ſhould be delivered up to him on his own terms: and threatned, in caſe of refuſal, to make a general aſſault. This reſolution aroſe from his apprehenſion of the return of the Engliſh ſquadron. As ſoon as the deputies returned, the bombardment recommenced, and continued until the evening, when it was ſuſpended

1746. pended for two hours, during the conference of another deputy ſent from the town; after which it continued during the reſt of the night.

The next morning, the 10th of September, the deputies returned to the French camp, and, after ſome altercations, conſented to the articles of capitulation, which had been dictated to them in the firſt conference. It was agreed that the Engliſh ſhould ſurrender themſelves priſoners of war: that the town ſhould be immediately delivered up; but that it ſhould be afterwards ranſomed. Mr. De la Bourdonnais gave his promiſe that he would ſettle the ranſom on eaſy and moderate terms.

The capitulation was ſigned in the afternoon, when Mr. de la Bourdonnais, at the head of a large body of troops, marched to the gates, where he received the keys from the governor. The French colours were immediately diſplayed; and, at the ſame time, the Engliſh ſhip belonging to the Eaſt India company, which lay in the road, was taken poſſeſſion of without reſiſtance by the boats of the French ſquadron. There was not a man killed in the French camp during the ſiege; four or five Engliſhmen were killed in the town by the exploſion of the bombs, which likewiſe deſtroyed two or three houſes. From this period it is uſeful to contemplate the progreſs made by the Engliſh in Indoſtan, both in the ſcience and ſpirit of war.

The Engliſh inhabitants were permitted to reſide without moleſtation in their houſes; but the magazines and ware-houſes belonging to the Eaſt India company were taken poſſeſſion of by the French commiſſaries.

On the day in which Madraſs was ſurrendered, a meſſenger from the Nabob An'war-odean Khan, diſpatched for more expedition on a camel, arrived at Pondicherry, and delivered to Mr. Dupleix a letter, in which the Nabob expreſſed great ſurprize at the preſumption of the French in attacking Madraſs without his permiſſion, and threatned to ſend his army there, if the ſiege was not immediately raiſed. Mr. Duleix ſent directions to his agent at Arcot to pacify the Nabob, by promiſing that the town, if taken, ſhould be given up to him; and

and by repreſenting, that the Engliſh would certainly be willing to pay him a large ſum of money for the reſtitution of ſo valuable a poſſeſſion. By this tranſaction, Mr. Dupleix firſt diſcovered that he thought the right of diſpoſing of Madraſs, was inveſted in himſelf as governor general of the French eſtabliſhments in India. 1746.

But Mr. De la Bourdonnais, relying on his own commiſſion, did not admit of this authority in the governor of Pondicherry, and, conformable to his promiſe, proceeded to treat with the Engliſh for the ranſom of the town. Mr. Dupleix and the council of Pondicherry proteſted againſt the treaty, as a meaſure highly detrimental to the intereſts of their nation, which, they ſaid, would be ſacrificed to private advantages, if Madraſs was not razed to the ground. Diſputes enſued, which, fortunately for the Engliſh affairs, prevented many evils, which in all probability would have befallen them, if the councils of the enemy had not been divided by theſe contentions. For on the 27th of September three ſhips of war, one of 72, the others of 40 guns, with 1360 men on board, arrived at Pondicherry, and with this reinforcement, the French force was ſufficient to have conquered the reſt of the Engliſh ſettlements in Indoſtan. Such indeed was the deſtination and intention of De la Bourdonnais; and he would have immediately began to carry this plan of hoſtilities into execution, if all his operations had not been contradicted by Mr. Dupleix, and the council of Pondicherry.

However, the effects of Madraſs, which Mr. De la Bourdonnais intended to carry away in his ſhips, were put on board by the 1ſt of October, and two of them had ſailed to Pondicherry. Mr. Dupleix was not as yet reconciled to the treaty of ranſom, and Mr. De la Bourdonnais was determined not to leave Madraſs before the governor and council of Pondicherry had given their approbation: at the ſame time his experience in the navigation of India fully apprized him of the danger to which his ſhips were expoſed, by remaining on the coaſt of Coromandel at this critical ſeaſon of the year.

In India the year is divided into two ſeaſons. From the month of October to March the winds blow from the north, and during the reſt of the year from the ſouthern points of the compaſs: theſe ſea-

1746. ſons are by mariners called monſoons: the change from one to the other is generally preceded by an interval of about twenty days, in which calms, or light and uncertain winds prevail: the ſetting in of the northern monſoon generally falls out ſome time in the month of October, as that of the ſouthern in the month of April. On the coaſt of Coromandel the northern monſoon ſometimes begins with a violent tempeſt or hurricane; and if the monſoon ſets in with moderation, it is often productive of tempeſtuous weather at different intervals, until the middle of December, and ſometimes later; ſo that it is held dangerous for any veſſels to remain on the coaſt after the 15th of October, or to return to it before the 20th of December.

On the 2d of October the weather was remarkably fine and moderate all day. About midnight a furious ſtorm aroſe, and continued with the greateſt violence until the noon of the next day. Six of the French ſhips were in the road when the ſtorm began, and not one of them was to be ſeen at day-break. One put before the wind, and was driven ſo much to the ſouthward, that ſhe was not able to gain the coaſt again: the 70 gun ſhip loſt all her maſts: three others of the ſquadron were likewiſe diſmaſted, and had ſo much water in the hold, that the people on board expected every minute to periſh, notwithſtanding they had thrown over-board all the cannon of the lower tier: the other ſhip, during the few moments of a whirlwind which happened in the moſt furious part of the ſtorm, was covered by the waves, and foundered in an inſtant, and only ſix of the crew eſcaped alive. Twenty other veſſels belonging to different nations, were either driven on ſhore, or periſhed at ſea.

The other two ſhips, laden with part of the effects of Madraſs, together with the three lately arrived from Europe, were at anchor in the road of Pondicherry, where they felt no effect of the ſtorm which was raging at Madraſs: It is obſerved, that the violence of theſe hurricanes is generally confined to 60 or 80 miles in breadth, although in their progreſs they generally blow quite acroſs the Bay of Bengal.

The articles of the treaty of ranſom had been adjuſted the day before the ſtorm happened. It was agreed that the French ſhould

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evacuate the town by the 4th of October; and by one of the articles, the artillery and warlike ſtores remaining in the town, were to be equally divided between the French and Engliſh. 1746.

Mr. Dupleix had repreſented to Mr. De la Bourdonnais, that he would not interfere in any tranſactions with the Engliſh after his departure, unleſs the French remained in poſſeſſion of Madraſs for ſo much time as might be neceſſary to adjuſt all diſcuſſions ariſing from the treaty. Mr. De la Bourdonnais therefore repreſented to the Engliſh, the neceſſity to which he was reduced, by the obſtinacy of Mr. Dupleix, of protracting for three months, the term in which he had agreed to put them in poſſeſſion of the town: the Engliſh, apprehenſive that if they refuſed to admit of this alteration, they ſhould be left to the mercy of Mr. Dupleix without a treaty, acquieſced in this propoſal; and the treaty was ſigned on the 10th of October.

All the merchandizes, and a part of the military ſtores, belonging to the Eaſt India company, together with all the naval ſtores found in the town, had been laden on board of the French ſhips: theſe articles, according to the computation made by the French, amounted to 130,000 pounds ſterling; and the gold and ſilver of which they took poſſeſſion to the value of 31,000 pounds ſterling; the half of the artillery and military ſtores was eſtimated at 24,000 pounds ſterling: all the other effects and merchandizes were relinquiſhed to the proprietors of them. It was agreed that the French ſhould evacuate the town before the end of the enſuing January, after which the Engliſh were to remain in poſſeſſion of it, without being attacked by them again during the war. Upon theſe conditions the governor and council of Madraſs agreed to pay the ſum of 1,100,000 pagodas, or 440,000 pounds ſterling. Of this ſum 240,000 pounds were to be paid at Pondicherry, by ſix equal payments, before the month of October in the year 1749: and for the remaining 200,000 pounds, bills were drawn on the Eaſt India company in London, payable a few months after they ſhould be preſented. The Engliſh gave hoſtages for the performance of this treaty.

On the 12th of October, Mr. De la Bourdonnais inveſted one of the council of Pondicherry, appointed by Mr. Dupleix, with the go-

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1746. vernment of Madrafs, and went on board of his own fhip, which had been refitted with jury mafts. He anchored in the road of Pondicherry on the 15th, and failed from thence the 20th with feven fhips, intending to proceed to Achin: but forefeeing that a part of them would probably be unable to reach that port, he formed the fquadron into two divifions; one confifted of the three fhips which arrived laft from Europe, together with another that had efcaped the ftorm: thefe were all in good condition; and were therefore ordered to make their way to Achin, without waiting for the other divifion, which confifted of Mr. De la Bourdonnais' 70 gun fhip, one that had been difmafted, and a merchant-fhip which had likewife fuffered in the ftorm. The four found fhips very foon failed out of fight of their comrades: and Mr. De la Bourdonnais, finding that the fhattered condition of the other three rendered them incapable of gaining their deftined port againft a violent and contrary wind, made fail for the ifland of Mauritius, where they arrived in the beginning of December without any accident. He foon after left Mauritius, which, from a foreft, he had rendered a flourifhing colony, and the arfenal of all the French military expeditions in India. Every body knows the treatment he received on his arrival in France. The friends of Mr. Dupleix had influence enough at the court to get him confined to the baftile, where he remained a prifoner almoft three years: upon an examination of his conduct, his juftification, proved by original papers which have been made public, procured him his liberty. Had he furvived the fubfequent ill fucceffes of his nation at fea, his abilities would probably have raifed him to the higheft commands in the navy of France. His knowledge in mechanics rendered him capable of building a fhip from the keel: his fkill in navigation, of conducting her to any part of the globe: and his courage, of defending her againft any equal force. In the conduct of an expedition, he fuperintended all the details of the fervice, without being perplexed either with the variety or number of them. His plans were fimple, his orders precife, and both the beft adapted to the fervice in which he was engaged. His application was inceffant; and difficulties ferved only to encreafe his activity, which always gave the example of zeal to thofe he commanded.

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The ſtorm ruined the French marine force in India, and preſerved the Engliſh eſtabliſhments from imminent danger: but the events which enſued on the Coaſt of Coromandel, ſeem to have been the conſequence of that augmentation of troops, which Pondicherry acquired after the French ſquadron was reduced to the incapacity of attempting any farther expeditions. Mr. De la Bourdonnais left behind him 1200 diſciplined men; 450 more were landed out of the three ſhips which came laſt into India, and 8 or 900 ſailors were taken out of the ſhips that remained on the coaſt, and diſciplined as ſoldiers. By which additions the forces of Pondicherry amounted to 3000 Europeans. 1746.

The Nabob An'war-odean, very ſoon after the French had taken Madraſs, began to ſuſpect, or had diſcovered, that the promiſe of Mr. Dupleix to put him in poſſeſſion of the town, was a fraud employed to divert him from giving the Engliſh any aſſiſtance during the ſiege. He determined to revenge this affront by laying ſiege to Madraſs; which he made no doubt of taking from the French, with as much eaſe as they had taken it from the Engliſh: for meaſuring the military abilities of the Europeans, by the great reſpect and humility with which they had hitherto carried themſelves in all their tranſactions with the Mogul government; he imagined that this ſubmiſſion in their behaviour proceeded from a conſciouſneſs of the ſuperior military proweſs of the Moors.

Some of his troops arrived in the neighbourhood of Madraſs before Mr. De la Bourdonnais's departure, and ſoon after, his eldeſt ſon, Maphuze Khan with the reſt. The whole army amounted to 10,000 men, and inveſted the town: two deputies were immediately ſent to treat with him, and theſe he kept priſoners. The French governor had received orders from Mr. Dupleix to refrain as long as poſſible from committing any hoſtilitiesagainſt Maphuze Khan, who imputed this inaction to fear: and having received information of the diſpoſitions which Mr. De la Bourdonnais had made for the attack of the place, he endeavoured to imitate them; great heaps of faggots and earth were brought to the ſpot where the French had erected one of their batteries of mortars againſt the town: here the

1746. Moors intended to form a battery of their cannon, which were ſo old, as not to be fired without riſk to thoſe who managed them.

A ſhallow river ran along the weſtern-ſide of Madraſs: its outlet to the ſea was about 700 yards to the ſouth of the White Town; but this was generally ſtopped by a mound, formed of the ſands, which were continually thrown up by the ſurf. This obſtruction confining the waters of the river, rendered it of as much defence as a wet ditch to that part of the town by which it paſſed. The Nabob's army intended to eſcalade the Black Town, of which the walls were low, and the baſtions of very little ſtrength; this had been the project of Mr. De la Bourdonnais. To facilitate their approach to the walls in a general aſſault, they employed a great number of men to cut through the mound of ſand; a practice which they were informed the Engliſh always made uſe of, whenever they thought it neceſſary to drain the river. At the ſame time a large body of troops took poſſeſſion of a ſpring lying about three miles to the north of the town, which was the only ſource from which the inhabitants were ſupplied with good water. Theſe meaſures ſhewed a degree of intelligence very uncommon in the military operations of the Moors. The French finding the waters of the river decreaſe, and their communication with the ſpring interrupted, commenced hoſtilities, and fired from the baſtions of the Black and White Town, upon the Moors, wherever they appeared; who immediately retreated from the mound, and the reſt of their ſtations, which were expoſed to this fire; but ſtill kept poſſeſſion of the ground near the ſpring, which was out of the reach of cannon-ſhot from the town.

The next day, being the 22d of October, a body of 400 men, with two field pieces, marched out of the town, and attacked that quarter of the Nabob's army, which was encamped to the north-weſt, between the town and the ſpring. Their cavalry mounted on the firſt alarm, and uniting their ſquadrons, advanced with the appearance of reſolution. Having never experienced the effect of field pieces, they had no conception that it was poſſible to fire, with execution, the ſame piece of cannon five or ſix times in a minute; for in the aukward management of their own clumſy

artillery,

artillery, they think they do well if they fire once in a quarter of an hour. The French detachment concealed their two field pieces behind their line, until the enemy's cavalry approached near enough to feel the full effect of them; when the line opening to the right and left, the field pieces began to fire: two or three of the enemy's horses were killed by the first discharge, which threw the whole body into confusion: however they kept their ground some time, as if waiting for an intermission of the fire; but, finding that it continued with vivacity, they took to flight with great precipitation. The French plundered their tents and baggage without interruption, and took two pieces of cannon, so little fit for service, that they flung them into a well. They did not lose a man in the attack, and killed about seventy of the Moors. 1746.

Maphuze Khan, immediately after this defeat, collected all his troops into one camp, about two miles to the westward of the town: but upon hearing that the French expected a reinforcement from Pondicherry, he quitted this camp the next day, and took possession of St. Thomé, a town situated about four miles to the south of Madrass.

This place, once in the possession of the Portuguese, and during the time of their prosperity in India famous for the splendor and riches of its inhabitants, has long since been reduced to a town of little note or resort, although it still gives title to a Portuguese bishop. The town had no defence, excepting here and there the remains of a ruined wall: a river ran into the sea from the west, about a quarter of a mile to the south of the town. Maphuze Khan took possession of the strand between the river and the town with his whole army, and planted his artillery along the bank of the river.

On the 24th of October the French detachment arrived, by break of day, at the bank of the river opposite to St. Thomé, and found the Nabob's troops, horse and foot, drawn up on the other side, to oppose their passage. It had been concerted, that a party of 400 men should march from Madrass, and attack the Moors on the northern side of the town, at the same time that the detachment from Pondicherry attacked them on the south: but the troops from Ma-

1746. drafs failed to arrive in time. The other detachment neverthelefs advanced without hefitation to the attack. The river was fordable, and they paffed it without lofs, notwithftanding they were expofed to the fire of the enemy's artillery, which, as ufual, was very ill ferved. As foon as they gained the oppofite bank, they gave a general fire of their fmall arms, and then attacked with their bayonets. The Moors, unaccuftomed to fuch hardy and precipitate onfets, gave way, and retreated into the town, where they again made a fhew of refiftance from behind fome pallifadoes which they had planted in different parts of the fouth fide. The French continued to advance in good order, and no fooner fired from three or four platoons than the Moors gave way again; when the horfe and foot falling back promifcuoufly on each other in the narrow ftreets of the town, the confufion of the throng was fo great, that they remained for fome time expofed to the fire of the French, without being able to make refiftance, or to retreat. Many were killed before the whole army could get out of the town, and gain the plain to the weftward. Their general, Maphuze Khan, mounted on an elephant, on which the great ftandard of the Carnatic was difplayed, was one of the firft who made his efcape. They were fcarcely fled out of the town before the detachment from Madrafs arrived, and affifted in the pillage of the enemy's baggage, among which were fome valuable effects: many horfes and oxen, and fome camels were likewife taken. It is faid, that the French troops murdered fome of the Moors whom they found concealed in the houfes they were plundering. This defeat ftruck fuch a terror into the Nabob's army, that they immediately retreated fome miles from Madrafs, and foon after returned to Arcot.

It was now more than a century fince any of the European nations had gained a decifive advantage in war againft the officers of the Great Mogul. The experience of former unfuccefsful enterprizes, and the fcantinefs of military abilities which prevailed in all the colonies, from a long difufe of arms, had perfuaded them that the Moors were a brave and formidable enemy; when the French at once broke through the charm of this timorous opinion, by defeating a whole army with a fingle battalion.

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The officer who commanded the detachment, which routed the Moors at St. Thomé, was a Swiſs, named Paradis. He had gained the favour of Mr. Dupleix, by manifeſting a violent enmity againſt Mr. De la Bourdonnais: and Mr. Dupleix regarding him as the moſt proper perſon to carry into execution any oppoſition to Mr. De la Bourdonnais's meaſures, appointed Paradis governor of Madraſs. At the ſame time, the French inhabitants of Pondicherry, inſtructed by Mr. Dupleix's emiſſaries, aſſembled and drew up a repreſentation, addreſſed to Mr. Dupleix and the council, in which they ſet forth the neceſſity, as they pretended, of annulling the treaty of ranſom. Mr. Dupleix, and the council of Pondicherry, affecting to reſpect the general voice of the inhabitants, which they had ſuborned, inſtructed Paradis to execute this reſolution. On the 30th of October, the inhabitants of Madraſs were called together; the French garriſon was drawn up under arms, and a manifeſto, addreſſed to the Engliſh, was publicly read. This paper contained the following declaration and injunctions: 1746.

The treaty of ranſom made with Mr. De la Bourdonnais was declared null. The Engliſh were enjoined to deliver up the keys of all magazines without exception: all merchandizes, plate, proviſions, warlike ſtores, and horſes, were declared the property of the French company; but the Engliſh were permitted to diſpoſe of their moveables, cloaths, and the jewels of the women: they were required to give their parole not to act againſt the French nation until they ſhould be exchanged; and it was declared, that thoſe who refuſed to obey this injunction, ſhould be arreſted and ſent to Pondicherry. All, excepting ſuch as were willing to take the oath of allegiance to the French King, were ordered to quit the town in four days, and were prohibited from taking up their reſidence within the bounds of Madraſs, or in any of the country houſes belonging to the Engliſh without thoſe bounds.

Such injurious and diſtreſsful terms aggravated the iniquity of that breach of public faith which produced them.

The French put their manifeſto into execution with the utmoſt rigour, and took poſſeſſion of the effects of the Engliſh with an avaricious exactitude rarely practiſed by thoſe who ſuddenly acquire valu-

1746. able booties: the fortunes of most of the English Inhabitants were ruined. The governor and several of the principal inhabitants were conducted, by an escort of 400 men, to Pondicherry: here Mr. Dupleix, under pretence of doing them honour, caused them to enter the town in an ostentatious procession, which exposed them to the view of 50,000 spectators, like prisoners led in triumph. Others of the inhabitants, with several of the military officers, resolved not to give their parole, alledging very justly, that the breach of the treaty of ransom released them from that which they had given to Mr. De la Bourdonnais: and these made their escape out of the town by night, and, travelling through the country by various roads, went to the English settlement of Fort St. David.

The East India company was here in possession of a territory larger than that of Madrass: it had been purchased, about a hundred years before, from the Indian prince of the country; and their title to it was confirmed by the Mogul's viceroy, when the Moors conquered the Carnatic. The fort was situated near the sea 12 miles to the south of Pondicherry: it was small, but better fortified than any of its size in India, and served as a citadel to the company's territory. About a mile to the south of it was situated the town of Cuddalore, in which the principal Indian merchants, and many of the natives dependent on the company resided. This town extended 1200 yards from north to south, and 900 from east to west: three of its sides were defended by walls flanked with bastions; that to the sea was for the greatest part open; but a river passing from the westward between Fort St. David and the town, flowed, just before it gains the sea, along the eastern side of the town, of which whilst it washed the skirts on one hand, it was on the other separated from the sea by a mound of sand, which the surf throws upon the shore in most parts of the coast. To the westward of the fort, and within the company's territory, were two or three populous villages, inhabited by the natives. The government of Fort St. David depended on that of Madrass, to which it was immediately the next in rank: but on the breach of the treaty of ransom, the company's agents at Fort St. David, regarding those of Madrass as prisoners to the French, took upon themselves the general administration on the coast of Coromandel.

They

They began their adminiſtration by applying to the Nabob of Arcot for his aſſiſtance againſt the French, by whom they expected every day to be attacked. The defeat of Maphuze Khan at St. Thomé had irritated the Moors ſo much againſt that nation, that the Nabob readily engaged to ſend his army to Fort St. David, on condition that the Engliſh would furniſh part of the expence. This propoſal being agreed to, the army prepared to take the field in two bodies, one commanded by Maphuze Khan, and the other by his brother Mahomed-ally. 1746.

In the beginning of December Mr. Dupleix recalled Paradis from Madraſs to Pondicherry, intending to give him the command of an expedition he was preparing againſt Fort St. David. Paradis ſet out with a detachment of 300 Europeans, and took the opportunity of this eſcort to carry away what booty he had collected in his government. Maphuze Khan, deſirous to revenge the defeat of St. Thomé, reſolved to intercept this detachment; and waited for it, with 3000 horſe and 2000 foot, about ten miles to the north of Sadraſs, a Dutch ſettlement lying 30 miles to the ſouth of Madraſs. The detachment marched in two bodies; one before and one behind the baggage, which was carried by Coolies, a caſt of Indians whoſe ſole occupation is to carry burthens. The Mooriſh cavalry continually haraſſed the rear, retreating as ſoon as the French prepared to fire, and returning as ſoon as they renewed their march: the infantry armed with match-locks, fired from the ſhelter of thickets and other covers at too great a diſtance to do execution. However theſe attacks greatly retarded the progreſs of the detachment; and Paradis, apprehenſive of being overtaken by the night in the open plain, ordered his baggage to proceed before the firſt diviſion, and then marched away himſelf with this body as faſt as poſſible to Sadraſs, leaving the rear to maintain the fight as they could; who nevertheleſs did not loſe courage, and by never firing until the enemy were within certain reach of execution, made their way good to Sadraſs, with the loſs of 12 men, who faultering on the way were taken. Theſe priſoners Maphuze Khan ſhewed as an inconteſtible proof of victory: and this opinion was in ſome meaſure confirmed by the conduct of Paradis, after his arrival at Sadraſs, not venturing to proceed until he had been reinforced

1746. forced by a large detachment from Pondicherry; which it is probable he had only demanded for the greater ſecurity of his own baggage, which conſiſted of valuable effects. Maphuze Khan, ſatisfied with the advantage he had gained, left the ſea-coaſt the day after the action, and proceeded to join his brother Mahomed-ally, who had taken the field.

The troops deſtined to attack Fort St. David aſſembled at Ariancopang, a ſmall fort built by the French about two miles to the ſouth-weſt of Pondicherry, and about one mile and a half from the ſea: but the officers refuſing to admit Mr. Paradis to command them, in prejudice to the right of his ſeniors in the ſervice; the command was given to Mr. Bury, the oldeſt officer of the French troops in India.

The European troops in the ſervice of the colonies eſtabliſhed in Indoſtan, never conſiſted intirely of natives of that country to which the colony belongs: on the contrary, one half at leaſt was compoſed of men of all the nations in Europe. The chriſtians, who call themſelves Portugueſe, always formed part of a garriſon: they are little ſuperior in courage to the lower caſts of Indians, and greatly inferior to the higher caſts, as well as the northern Moors of Indoſtan; but becauſe they learn the manual exerciſe and the duties of a parade with ſufficient readineſs, and are clad like Europeans, they are incorporated into the companies of European troops. From wearing a hat, theſe pretended Portugueſe obtained amongſt the natives of India the name of Topaſſes; by which name the Europeans likewiſe diſtinguiſh them. The Indian natives, and Moors, who are trained in the European manner, are called Sepoys: in taking our arms and military exerciſe, they do not quit their own dreſs or any other of their cuſtoms. The Sepoys are formed into companies and battalions, and commanded by officers of their own nation and religion. Thoſe troops of the natives, who bring with them their own arms, and continue their own manner of uſing them, retain the names they bear in their ſeveral countries; but on the coaſt of Coromandel the Europeans diſtinguiſh all theſe undiſciplined troops, whether armed with ſwords and targets, with bows and arrows, with pikes and lances, with match-locks, or even with muſkets, by the general name of Peons.

In

In the night of the 8th of December the French army ſet out from Ariancopang, and arrived the next morning, by break of day, at the river Pannar, which runs into the ſea about a mile and a half to the north of Fort St. David: their force conſiſted of 1700 men, for the moſt part Europeans, of which 50 were cavalry: they had one or two companies of Caffre ſlaves, natives of Madagaſcar and of the eaſtern coaſt of Africa; which had been diſciplined, and brought into India, by Mr. De la Bourdonnais. Their artillery conſiſted of ſix field pieces, and as many mortars. 1746.

The garriſon of Fort St. David, with the addition of the officers and ſoldiers who had made their eſcape from Madraſs, conſiſted of no more than 200 Europeans, and 100 Topaſſes. Theſe were intended to defend the fort: and as the Nabob's behaviour, when Madraſs was attacked by De la Bourdonnais, had cauſed the Engliſh to ſuſpect his aſſurances of aſſiſtance, they hired 2000 Peans for the defence of Cuddalore and the company's territory, and diſtributed 8 or 900 muſkets amongſt them. At this time the Engliſh had not adopted the idea of training the Indian natives in the European diſcipline, notwithſtanding the French had ſet the example, by raiſing four or five companies of Sepoys at Pondicherry.

The French army croſſed the river Pannar, and entered the company's territory without any other oppoſition than the fire of ſome of the Peons, who galled them a little from behind thickets, and other covers; but retreated as ſoon as fired upon by the enemy's field-pieces. At the diſtance of a mile and a half to the north-weſt of Fort St. David was a country-houſe appointed for the reſidence of the governor, behind which, to the north, was a large garden incloſed with a brick wall, and before the houſe, to the ſouth, a court with buildings on each ſide of it. The ford where the French had paſſed the river was about a quarter of a mile from the garden; in which ſome Peons were ſtationed, whom the enemy ſoon diſlodged. Mr. Dupleix having received intelligence that the Nabob had ſent no more than 1500 men to the aſſiſtance of the Engliſh, had inſtructed Mr. Bury to march through the company's territory, and aſſault the town of Cuddalore. The French, having met with no other reſiſtance than

1746. the irregular ſkirmiſhes of the Peons, ſuſpected no other attacks, and from this confidence, the ſoldiers, fatigued with a march of twelve miles, were permitted, as ſoon as they had taken poſſeſſion of the garden, to lay down their arms; and the officers neglected to ſtation guards, or to take the uſual precautions which are generally thought indiſpenſible againſt a ſurprize. In a few minutes the whole army had quitted their arms, and every man was ſtraggling according to his own inclination: ſome were cutting wood to dreſs their meal, ſome were cooking it, ſome were eating, and others were laid down to ſleep: the Coolies and the Indians conducting the camels, carts, and oxen laden with the baggage, diſcharged it promiſcuouſly in the court before the garden-houſe, and then diſperſed. Such was the general diſorder, when a large body of forces, horſe and foot, were diſcovered approaching in good order from the weſtward. Theſe were the Nabob's army, conſiſting of 6000 horſe and 3000 foot, under the command of his ſons Maphuze Khan and Mahomed-ally, who having united the forces they ſeparately commanded, had arrived the preceding day on the plain of Chimundelum, four miles to the weſt of Fort St. David.

Every man ran to his arms in confuſion, and terror prevented them from conceiving the advantage of their ſituation in the garden, the walls of which ſecured them from the attack of cavalry: but imagining that their ſafety conſiſted in recroſſing the river before they ſhould be attacked, they hurried out of the garden into the open plain; all, excepting the artillery, in much diſorder. The enemy came up before they reached the river. The Peons of the Nabob's army, joined by thoſe belonging to the Engliſh, intermixed with the cavalry, and kept up a conſtant but irregular fire, whilſt the cavalry advanced ſword in hand in various onſets; but they were always repulſed by the fire of the artillery.

As ſoon as the French troops had gained the bank, they plunged into the river, where the water was four feet deep; and many flung away their arms before they reached the other ſide: but the artillery continued to preſerve their courage, and ſaved the field-pieces, tranſporting them over the river one after another; and turning them again upon the enemy as ſoon as they were landed on the oppoſite bank.

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The English at Fort St. David were apprized of the arrival of the Nabob's army at Chimundelum; and the whole garrison, excepting 50 Topasses, sallied out as soon as they perceived the French retreating, but did not come up in time to assist in interrupting their passage over the river. Having prevailed upon the Nabob's army to accompany them, they advanced in pursuit of the French, but did not overtake them until they had marched six miles on the other side of the river. By this time the French troops had recovered from their panic, and were drawn up in such good order, that it was not thought prudent to attack them. They continued their march to Ariancopang, where they arrived at seven in the evening, having been in motion, with very little respite, for 24 hours. On a review of a state of their army, it was found that 120 of their Europeans had been wounded, and 12 killed. They had left behind them at the garden all the baggage which was come up before the Moors appeared. The English, on their return from the pursuit, found several chests of musquets, and other military stores; but a body of the Nabob's cavalry had plundered all the rest of the baggage as soon as the French quitted the garden. 1746.

Mr. Dupleix judging, from the ill success of this expedition, that any open attempts against the English at Fort St. David would be frustrated whilst the Moors continued to assist them, entered into a correspondence with the Nabob and Maphuze Khan, to induce them to withdraw their troops: and at the same time he formed a project to take Cuddalore by surprize. The French army continued at Ariancopang; and on the night of the 30th of December 500 men embarked in boats, with orders to proceed by sea to Cuddalore, where they were to enter the river which runs along the eastern side, and to attack this open quarter of the town at break of day. The boats were scarcely through the surf, when the wind rose from the south, and blew so hard that several of them filled with water, and all were obliged to put back. The surf beat so high on the shore, that the soldiers flung away their arms, as dangerous incumbrances; for in high surfs the boat is quitted as soon as it touches the ground, lest the succeeding wave should break upon it, and overwhelm those who are in it.

1746. Mr. Dupleix, thus disappointed a second time in his views against Cuddalore, finding that the Nabob's army still continued with the English, attempted to cause a diversion of their troops, by carrying the war into the Nabob's country near Madrass. A detachment from the town marched 20 miles inland, burning and destroying villages without resistance; for the inhabitants took to flight as they approached; and the Nabob had no troops in that part of his country. The French found large quantities of grain in several places, which they set fire to, for want of means to carry it away. They gained no advantage but plunder by this expedition; for the Moors remained at Fort St. David, and the Nabob was more exasperated than before.

1747. On the 9th of January the four ships, that composed the largest division of the squadron in which Mr. De la Bourdonnais quitted the coast, returned from Achin to Pondicherry. Mr. Dupleix informed the Nabob of their arrival, exaggerated the addition of force which Pondicherry received from it, and at the same time represented the English at Fort St. David as a handful of men abandoned by the rest of their countrymen. The princes of Indostan, as well as their subjects, take no pains to inform themselves of any affairs excepting those of their own country; and the long absence of the English squadron, joined to the precipitation with which it had quitted the coast in September, concurred with Mr. Dupleix's assertions, to make the Moors believe that the English concerns in India were becoming desperate. The governments of Indostan have no idea of national honour in the conduct of their politics; and as soon as they think the party with whom they are engaged is reduced to great distress, they shift, without hesitation, their alliance to the opposite side, making immediate advantage the only rule of their action. The Nabob ordered his son Maphuze Khan to listen to Mr. Dupleix's proposals of an accommodation, and sent back to Pondicherry the two deputies who had been detained prisoners by Maphuze Khan, when he invested Madrass. One of these prisoners was nephew to Mr. Dupleix, and the other a member of the council of Pondicherry: they had been kept at Arcot during their captivity, and were perhaps the only Europeans, excepting some vagabonds and Jesuits, who had made so long a residence in the capital of the Carnatic, since the pro-

vince had been conquered by the Great Mogul. The Moors had 1747. hitherto been careful to prevent Europeans from informing themſelves of the ſtate of the country, and the Europeans, ſolely employed in commerce, were ſo little ſolicitous of acquiring ſuch information, that at this time they knew as little of Arcot as of Delhi.

But Mr. Dupleix, while he was perſuading the Nabob that the Engliſh affairs were without reſource, was himſelf apprehenſive of the return of their ſquadron, and did not think the ſhips arrived from Achin a force ſufficient to encounter it; therefore, as ſoon as he found that there was a probability of withdrawing the Moors from the aſſiſtance of the Engliſh, he ordered the ſhips to quit the coaſts of Coromandel. They left Pondicherry the 8th of February, and ſailed to Goa, the capital of the Portugueſe ſettlements in India. A few days after, Maphuze Khan came to Pondicherry, where he was received with pomp and much reſpect. Mr. Dupleix paid him 50,000 rupees in money, and made him a preſent of European trinkets to the value of 100,000 rupees more: a peace was concluded between the French and the Nabob, who recalled his army from Fort St. David. The Engliſh at Fort St. David had not hitherto received any ſupplies either from Europe or the colonies in India.

A ſhip from England belonging to the company appeared in ſight of Madraſs in the month of November, and ignorant of the loſs of the place, approached the road. The governor Paradis, immediately hoiſted Engliſh colours in the town, and ſent ſome ſoldiers on board of the ſhip which was taken when Madraſs ſurrendered. This ſhip likewiſe hoiſted Engliſh colours. The ſhip from the ſea, deceived by theſe appearances, caſt anchor near the prize, which immediately attacked her, but in ſo unſkilful a manner, that Paradis apprehending the prize herſelf would be taken, began to fire from the batteries of the town upon the Engliſh ſhip, which, diſcovering by theſe hoſtilities that Madraſs was in poſſeſſion of the French, weighed her anchor, and went ont of the road without having received any damage. In January another ſhip from England came to an anchor before Madraſs: the French immediately ſent, by a fiſhing-float, a letter written in Engliſh, pretending that the town was inveſted by the Moors,

1747. Moors, and that they ſhould immediately ſend boats to bring on ſhore the treaſure and the ſoldiers. The captain, deceived by this letter, as well as by the flag which was flying in the town, entertained no ſuſpicion, and permitted the boats to come to the ſhip without examination. A number of ſoldiers were concealed in them, who in the ſame inſtant boarded the ſhip from different quarters. The greateſt part of the ſhip's company were enfeebled by the ſcurvy, and thoſe who were capable of making reſiſtance were ſo much ſurpriſed, that they were eaſily overpowered. This was a rich prize, having on board beſides merchandizes 60,000 pounds ſterling in bullion. In the interval another of the company's ſhips anchored in the road of Fort St. David, where the governor immediately ſent off a letter to the captain, acquainting him with the loſs of Madraſs, of the great ſuperiority of the French force on the coaſt of Coromandel, and of the diſtreſſes to which the fort was reduced by the want both of men and money. The ſhip was, as uſual, conſigned to the governor and council of Madraſs; and the diſtreſſes of Fort St. David, inſtead of inducing the captain to aſſiſt them, only ſuggeſted to him the riſk to which his own fortune might be expoſed, by landing the company's treaſure, contrary to the letter of his inſtructions, in a ſettlement threatened with ſuch imminent danger: he therefore refuſed to comply with the requeſt of the governor, and ſet ſail for Bengal without landing the ſoldiers, or any part of the cargo. Theſe ſiniſter accidents ſerved to confirm Mr. Dupleix's aſſertions, even in the opinion of the Engliſh themſelves, that their ſituation was growing deſperate, when at laſt, on the 19th of February, the ſhip which had eſcaped out of the road of Madraſs in November came from Ceylon, and landed 60,000l. in ſilver, together with 20 recruits for the garriſon: the money was a very important ſupply; for the treaſury of Fort St. David was almoſt exhauſted when the ſhip arrived.

The French army appeared in ſight of Fort St. David in the morning of the 2d of March: it conſiſted of the ſame troops which had been routed by the Moors at the garden: but Mr Dupleix had now prevailed on the officers to receive Mr. Paradis for their commander. The Engliſh garriſon marched out, with three field pieces, and a troop of horſe compoſed chiefly of volunteers, to prevent the French from croſſing

croſſing the river Pannar, and found them drawn up about 600 yards on the other ſide of it: they cannonaded one another during the greateſt part of the day; and in the evening, part of the French army croſſed the river, out of the reach of cannon-ſhot, to the weſtward: the horſe were detached to reconnoitre them, and returned with the loſs of two men killed by the fire of the French Caffres; upon which all the troops retreated to the fort. Of the Engliſh 12 men, and of the French, 22 were killed during the cannonade. Before morning the whole French army had paſſed the river, and taken poſſeſſion of the garden. A few hours afterwards a number of ſhips were deſcried in the offing, approaching the road: theſe were the Engliſh ſquadron from Bengal. The French no ſooner perceived them than they recroſſed the river, and marched back with great precipitation towards Pondicherry. 1747.

The ſquadron had been reinforced in Bengal by the arrival of two ſhips, one of 60 guns and the other of 40, ſent from England with admiral Griffin. The preſidency of Bengal ſent in the ſquadron a company of 100 Europeans, who were landed as ſoon as the ſhips anchored; and Mr. Griffin likewiſe went on ſhore with 150 marines and 500 ſailors: but theſe were only intended to be a temporary augmentation of the garriſon. The ſhips were ſoon after ſtationed in ſight of Pondicherry, where their appearance made Mr. Dupleix recall the French army into the town.

In the month of June, a reinforcement of 100 Europeans, 200 Topaſſes, and 100 Sepoys, arrived from Bombay, and 400 Sepoys from the Engliſh ſettlement of Tellicherry: 150 ſoldiers came likewiſe in the company's ſhips in the courſe of the year from Europe. In September, the ſquadron ſailed to Madraſs, and their boats ſet fire to and deſtroyed, in the road, the Neptune of 50 guns, one of the ſhips of Mr. De la Bourdonnais's ſquadron, which had remained on the coaſt ever ſince his departure.

Notwithſtanding the approach of the ſtormy monſoon in October, Mr. Griffin determined to continue with the ſquadron in ſight of Fort St. David; the monſoon began and continued without any violent hurricane; but the weather was notwithſtanding ſo ſtormy that only two of the ſhips, one of which was the admiral, were able to keep their

1747. ſtations. The reſt made ſail to the Bay of Trinconomalee in Ceylon; to which place Mr. Griffin with the other ſhip likewiſe went in December to take in wood and water, and returned to Fort St. David in the beginning of the year 1748 with all the ſquadron, excepting the Medway. This ſhip, which had been the firſt cauſe of the Engliſh diſgraces and misfortunes in India, was in ſo bad a condition, that ſhe was ſoon after condemned as unfit for ſervice; ſhe had been hove down at Calcutta in Bengal, but her leaks had not been thoroughly repaired.

1748. In the month of January 1748, Major Lawrence arrived from England at Fort St. David, with a commiſſion to command all the Eaſt India company's forces in India. At this time intelligence was received that Mr. Dupleix was preparing to make another attempt againſt Cuddalore: upon which the Major ordered all the troops at Fort St. David to form a camp between the garden and the river Pannar. Here they continued ſome time; when it was diſcovered that the commander of the Tellicherry Sepoys, a Moor, had formed a deſign to deſert with all his men to the French, in the firſt engagement that ſhould happen. This diſcovery led to others. It was found that an Indian, who, before Madraſs was loſt, had acted as interpreter and agent of the Engliſh governor of that place, carried on a correſpondence with the wife of Mr. Dupleix in the Malabar language, which ſhe underſtood. When the governor was removed by the French to Pondicherry, this man accompanied him; and Mrs. Dupleix, by civilities and promiſes, engaged him to give her intelligence of the tranſactions of the Engliſh at Fort St. David, which he had for ſome time done with great punctuality. The facts were proved; and the traitor, with another Indian his accomplice, was hanged. The commander of the Tellicherry Sepoys, with ten other officers belonging to that body, were baniſhed to the iſland of St. Helena, where ſeveral of them aſſiſted one another in putting an end to their lives, rather than remain in ſlavery in a place, of which the ſituation excluded them from all hopes of being able to make their eſcape to their native country.

The four French ſhips which ſailed from Pondicherry in February 1747, left Goa and the coaſt of Malabar in October, and ſailed to the iſland of Mauritius. They were here joined by three others, one of 50

and

and two of 40 guns, sent from France. The two 40 gun ships had been in India, and had taken an English East India ship in sight of the island of Bombay. This prize would have been very considerable, had not the vigilance of the governor of the island saved the silver that was on board, by sending from the shore two fishing-boats, which brought away the treasure, whilst the ship was defending itself against the enemy. 1748.

On the 9th of June at night the English 20 gun ship returned from a cruize, and brought intelligence to Fort St. David, that she had discovered seven large ships and two smaller vessels to the south. These were the French squadron which had sailed from Mauritius in the latter end of April. The English squadron, lately reinforced by three ships from England, was now composed of three ships of 60 guns, three of 50, three of 40, and one of 20 guns. These were at anchor in the road; but the rudders of two of the 40 gun ships were unhung, and Mr. Griffin and several of the officers were on shore, where many of the men were likewise, in the hospital.

During the southern monsoon the wind blows constantly from the south-west in all parts of the Bay of Bengal, except at the distance of 10 or 15 leagues from the land; and here it generally changes in 24 hours, blowing a part of this time from the sea at south-east, and during the rest from the land at south-west: the land-wind generally rises about midnight, and lasts till noon, but it is not always confined to this interval; for some days it continues until the evening, and at other times, when very strong, blows for three or four days without interruption. The sea-wind very seldom continues more than 12 hours, and is generally preceded by a short interval of calm. During the southern monsoon the currents, as well near the land as out at sea, drive strongly to the north.

A ship during the sea-wind cannot gain way to the south; for the sea is then rough, and the wind seldom inclines to the east of the south-east point: but as the land-wind often veers to the west point, and always renders the sea smooth within sight of the coast, ships bound to the south make some progress during this wind, and either drop anchor to maintain their ground if they are near shore when the land-wind fails, or if they are at some distance they continue under

1748. fail, and with the fea-wind come near the fhore, where they are ready to avail themfelves again of the land-wind as foon as it fets in. By thefe operations a veffel that fails well fometimes gets ten or fifteen miles to the fouth in a day; but it is not uncommon to fee others employed a month in getting only 100 miles to the fouthward.

On the 10th of June at an hour and a half after noon the French fhips were difcerned in the fouth-eaft. The fea-wind was fet in, and they were failing directly before it toward Fort St. David. The pofition of the Englifh fquadron, at anchor near the land to leeward, rendered it impoffible for them to get nearer the enemy during the fea-wind; for had they weighed anchor immediately, the neareft courfe they could have made would have been to the north-eaft out to fea, and this would very foon have carried them to leeward of Pondicherry. Mr. Griffin therefore determined not to weigh anchor till night, when the land-wind fhould fet in: in the interval the men on fhore were ordered to join their fhips. At four in the afternoon the French fquadron, being within three leagues of the road, altered their courfe, and plied to the fouth-weft. This operation made the Englifh believe that they kept to windward with intention to gain Pondicherry at all events. About midnight the Englifh put to fea with the land-wind, endeavouring to keep in the latitude of Fort St. David; and in the morning they fhortened fail, in expectation every minute of feeing the enemy again to the fouth; but before the evening they fell to leeward of Pondicherry, when Mr. Griffin, finding his expectations deceived, made fail to Madrafs, where he arrived the next evening, and found no French fhips in the road.

The French fquadron was commanded by Mr. Bouvet, governor of the ifle of Bourbon, an able and experienced mariner. He had been apprized, at the French fettlement of Karical, of the fuperior force of the Englifh: his operations, when in fight of Fort St. David, were defigned to make the Englifh believe that he intended to engage them the next morning: but as foon as the night fet in he changed his courfe, and crouding all the fail his fhips could carry, went away to Madrafs, where he arrived the next morning the 11th of June, and immediately landed 400 foldiers, with 200,000 pounds in filver, which had been fent from France to the ifland of Mauritius

for the ſervice of Pondicherry. Having thus effected the deſign of his voyage, he put out to ſea on his return to Mauritius before the Engliſh ſquadron appeared in ſight of Madraſs. 1748.

Mr. Dupleix perceiving that the Engliſh ſquadron had ſailed to Madraſs, from whence they could not return to Fort St. David in ſome days, determined to avail himſelf of their abſence, and make another attack upon Cuddalore. Eight hundred Europeans, with 1000 Sepoys, marched from Pondicherry, and making a circuit inland, arrived on the 17th of June in the morning within three miles of Cuddalore, at the hills of Bandapolam. Here they halted during the day, and intended at night to attack Cuddalore by ſurprize.

Major Lawrence receiving intelligence of this deſign, ordered the garriſon to march and the cannon to be removed to Fort St. David, intending by this operation to make the French believe that he did not think the place tenable. As ſoon as night came on, the garriſon, augmented to the number of 400 Europeans, together with the cannon, were ſent back to Cuddalore, with the precautions neceſſary to prevent the enemy from receiving intelligence of their return. The ſtratagem ſucceeded.

At midnight the French advanced with ſcaling ladders, which they no ſooner began to apply to the walls than they received the fire of all the muſketry from the ramparts, together with that of four or five pieces of cannon loaded with grape-ſhot. This unexpected reſiſtance ſtruck the whole body, officers as well as ſoldiers, with a panic. Moſt of the men flung away their arms without firing a ſhot: but the precipitation of their flight prevented the Engliſh fire from doing much execution amongſt them: nor did their fears quit them when arrived at the place of their encampment; for expecting to be followed, they marched on without halting until they came to the bounds of Pondicherry.

It was now ſome time that Mr. Dupleix had, with great activity, been employed in making diſpoſitions to reſiſt an armament bound to the Eaſt Indies under the command of admiral Boſcawen, of whoſe deſtination the French at Pondicherry, as well as the Engliſh at Fort St. David, had received intelligence. This armament conſiſted of one ſhip of 74 guns, one of 64, two of 60, two of 50, one

1748. of 20, a sloop of 14 guns, a bomb ketch with her tender, and an hospital-ship. These belonged to the navy of England; and 11 of the East India company's ships were likewise employed to transport the military stores, and the regular troops, which amounted to 1400 men. This fleet left England in November, and the greatest part arrived at the Cape of Good Hope the latter end of March, but five ships not until the 15th of April. They were joined at the Cape by six ships belonging to the Dutch East India company, on board of which were 400 soldiers. The troops having been landed to refresh, were all reimbarked before the 26th of April, when it was intended to sail; but contrary winds and weather detained the fleet until the 8th of May, when they left the Cape, bound to the island of Mauritius, which Mr. Boscawen was ordered to attack in his way to the coast of Coromandel.

The Portuguese in their first navigations to India, discovered three islands, lying to the eastward of Madagascar, between the 19th and 20th degree of latitude. The most western of these, from the name of the person who discovered it, they called Mascarenhas; but the French, when they took p[illegible] it in 1675, gave it the name of Bourbon, which now prev[illegible] The eastern Island the Portuguese called Diego Reys; which name it retains to this day; and that between Bourbon and Diego Reys they called Cerne, probably from a supposition that it was the Cerne of the ancients. The Dutch, when they made this a station of refreshment for their ships coming from India, called it Mauritius: the French, when they took possession of it the beginning of the present century, named it the Isle of France; but this appellation has prevailed only amongst themselves, the other Europeans still calling it Mauritius.

The Portuguese found on these islands neither men nor any four-footed animals, excepting land-tortoises, but great flocks of paroquets, doves, and sea-fowls; and the sea abounds with fish of various kinds, and with great numbers of turtle.

The island of Bourbon is 60 miles in length from north to south, and 45 in breadth from east to west. It has no port; and the only part where boats can land is in the road of St. Paul to the north-west. It has no plains, the whole being either hills of easy ascent, or steep moun-

mountains ſeparated by narrow vallies. Theſe mountains continue 1748. riſing one above another from the ſea coaſt to the middle of the iſland; ſo that in whatever view it is ſeen at a diſtance, it appears one convex ſurface riſing out of the ſea. The French took poſſeſſion of it in the year 1665, and finding the ſoil rich, cultivated it with great aſſiduity; it now produces wheat, and moſt of the garden vegetables of Europe, as well as thoſe of India, with many fruits peculiar to both climates: the mango, China orange, and peach, grow in great plenty and in great perfection. But the principal object of their agriculture, and what has rendered the iſland of importance in their commerce, is the cultivation of the coffee-tree, of which they brought the plants from Beit-ul Fakih in Arabia; and theſe have thriven ſo well, that the iſland now produces 2000 tons of coffee every year. The cultivation of this tree, as well as moſt other ſervices of toil, are performed by Caffre ſlaves brought from Africa and Madagaſcar. The French have a breed of horſes, which, though ſmall, are eſteemed for their hardineſs; and they have reared beeves, goats, ſheep, and hogs, in ſufficient quantities to ſupply the wants of the inhabitants, although not in ſuch plenty as to furniſh proviſion for their ſhipping; but this neglect ſeems to have ariſen from the facility and cheapneſs where-with theſe and other proviſions may be procured from the weſtern ſide of Madagaſcar, where they have ſettlements. Several families from France eſtabliſhed themſelves here ſoon after the French took poſſeſ-ſion of it, and from them are deſcended the preſent inhabitants, who are now multiplied to the number of 4000, of which 1000 are men capable of bearing arms: theſe have not degenerated from their an-ceſtors, but on the contrary are a race ſo remarkable for ſtature and proportion, as well as for health and ſtrength, that they equal, if not exceed in theſe qualities, the moſt athletic of the European nations. They are the only colony of Europeans eſtabliſhed within the tropics which have preſerved theſe advantages.

The inconveniencies ariſing from the want of a port at Bourbon, induced the French to take poſſeſſion of Mauritius. This iſland ex-tends about 45 miles in length from north to ſouth, and about 30 from weſt to eaſt. In the north-eaſtern quarter is a plain extend-ing

1748. ing about ten miles from eaſt to weſt, and in ſome places five miles in-land from the northern coaſt. All the reſt of the iſland is full of high and ſteep mountains, laying ſo near to one another that the intervals between them, inſtead of vallies, form only beds of torrents; and theſe are choaked with vaſt fragments of ſtone torn from the rock above. The ſummits of theſe mountains are covered with foreſts of ebony and other large trees, and the ground under the ſhade of the trees produces herbage, ſhrubs, and plants of various ſorts, from the common graſs to the ſtrongeſt thorn, in ſuch profuſion that they form a thicket ſo cloſely interwoven, that a ſtep cannot be made, but with the hatchet in hand. Many plantations have been raiſed with ſucceſs on theſe mountains, and ſome improvements made on the plain to the north-eaſt; but the productions, altho' moſtly of the ſame kind, are in leſs quantity, and in leſs perfection than at Bourbon: it produces no coffee; but, by the induſtry of M. De la Bourdonnais, ſugar, indigo, and cotton, which are not at Bourbon, were cultivated here with ſucceſs; and although theſe plantations have been much neglected ſince his departure, they may at any time be recovered. They are at this time endeavouring to cultivate the genuine cinnamon, from plants procured at Ceylon; but theſe, if they do not periſh, will in all probability, from the difference of ſoil and climate, greatly degenerate. Iron mines have been diſcovered in the mountains, near the plain to the north-eaſt; and, the mountains ſupplying great quantities of fuel, forges have been erected; but the iron produced is brittle, and is made into cannon-balls and ſhells for mortars. Beeves, ſheep, and goats, are preſerved with great difficulty: the beeves generally die before they have been a year in the iſland, and are therefore frequently imported from Madagaſcar and other parts. Common domeſtic fowls breed in great plenty; which, with fiſh and turtle, furniſh a great part of the food of the European inhabitants; who have multiplied very little by marriage, moſt of them being natives of France. Their Caffre ſlaves are ſubject to great mortalities from the ſmall-pox and other epidemical diſtempers.

Mauritius has two ports, one on the ſouth-eaſt coaſt, and the other on the north-weſt. The trade-wind from the ſouth-eaſt blows in theſe

latitudes

latitudes all the year round, excepting for a few days at the summer solstice, when it is interrupted by hard gales and hurricanes from the north. The facility with which this wind enables ships to enter the south-east port, induced the French, when they first took possession of the island, to give the preference to this harbour; but on finding that the same wind often rendered the passage out so difficult that a ship was sometimes obliged to wait a fortnight before she could put to sea, they left it, and have ever since made use of the other harbour. This lies nearly in the middle of the north side of the island; and its entrance is through a channel formed by two shoals, which advance about a mile into the sea. When a ship arrives opposite to this channel, the south-east wind hinders her from entering the port under sail; and she must either warp in with cables, or be towed in by boats: the necessity of this operation, joined to the narrowness of the channel, which does not afford passage for two ships a-breast, is one of the greatest difficulties an enemy would meet with in attacking the harbour; for although there are two forts, and as many batteries, which command the channel, yet these might easily be reduced, if ships of force could approach them under sail. This port is capable of containing 100 sail, and is provided with all the necessaries for repairing and even for building of ships. The entrance of the south-east port is defended by batteries; and an army landed here would meet with great difficulties in passing over the mountains to the other parts of the island. There are several places, between the north-east extremity and the north port, where boats may land; but these accesses are defended by batteries, and the country behind them is a continued thicket: the rest of the coast is inaccessible; and the French, relying on the difficulties of approaching the shore, had made no fortifications in any part of the island to obstruct the progress of an enemy when landed.

1748.

The greatest extent of Diego Reys is 27 miles: it is full of rocks, which harbour great numbers of land-tortoises of a very large size, which are esteemed excellent food: here the French keep a detachment of men, who are employed in catching these animals for the inhabitants of Mauritius; and this is the principal use they make of Diego Reys.

The

1748. The south-east trade-wind obliges all ships bound to these islands to approach them from the east. The passage from Diego Reys to Mauritius is performed in two days, and from Mauritius to Bourbon in one; but it requires near a month to go from Bourbon either to Mauritius or Diego Reys: from April to October the voyage from Mauritius to the coast of Coromandel is easily performed in a month. These islands being out of the track of common intelligence, a large armament, sent in detail from France, may rendezvous in the port of Mauritius, and from thence arrive in India before any intelligence is received there either of its strength or destination: hence it is evident, that, if we have any regard to our settlements in India, the reduction of this place ought to be one of the first objects of our attention in the beginning of a war with France. The possession of Mauritius would probably be followed by the voluntary submission of Bourbon, or would certainly render it of no use to the French for the purposes of war.

The fleet was thirty-five days in its passage from the Cape of Good Hope to Mauritius, and came in sight of the eastern coast on the 23d of June at day-break. Three of the Dutch ships were missing, having separated from the rest in bad weather. As soon as the ships came to the north-east point of the island, they proceeded along the northern coast in a line of battle a-head, the men of war leading, and the company's ships following them; and before night they had advanced within two leagues of the port, and came to anchor in a kind of bay lying between the mouths of two small rivers. They had hitherto discovered only two places along the shore where the smoothness of the water seemed to indicate a possibility of making a descent, and each was defended by a fascine battery of six guns, which fired on the ships as they passed: all the rest of the shore was defended by rocks and breakers.

The next morning the French began to fire upon the squadron from two other fascine batteries raised at the entrance of the two rivers between which it was at anchor, and the fire was returned from one of the 50 gun ships, but with very little execution on either side.

Mr. Boscawen now ordered the sloop to reconnoitre the coast quite up to the port; and she reported, on her return, that she had been fired

upon

upon by eight different batteries planted along the ſhore, as well as from the forts at the entrance of the harbour, where a large ſhip of two tiers lay at anchor, with her broadſide acroſs it; and that there were twelve other ſhips at anchor within the harbour, four of which were of force, and equipped for ſervice. As ſoon as it was dark the barges of the ſix line of battle ſhips were ſent to ſound, and on their return reported that a reef of rocks ran all along about 20 yards from the ſhore, which rendered it impoſſible for boats to land, except at the entrance of the rivers over-againſt which the fleet was at anchor, or at the harbour itſelf: here they had diſcovered, that the channel leading into it was not more than 100 fathom wide, and that this entrance would be ſubject to the greateſt difficulties by the oppoſition of the ſouth-eaſt wind. Upon receiving this intelligence, the admiral called a council of war, compoſed of the principal land and ſea officers, and it was reſolved, that, as they were ignorant of the ſtrength of the enemy, three armed boats ſhould be ſent to endeavour to land in the night, and take by ſurprize a man from the ſhore, from whom intelligence might probably be obtained: this was attempted, but in vain. The next morning, the 25th of June, the council of war aſſembled again, and were of opinion, that although their force was ſufficient to reduce the iſland, yet the attack, and the maintenance of it when taken, would not only retard, but might probably diſable the armament from undertaking the ſiege of Pondicherry, which Mr. Boſcawen was inſtructed to conſider as the principal object of his deſtination: it was therefore reſolved to proceed to the coaſt of Coromandel without delay, that the ſquadron might arrive there in time to act before the change of the monſoon in October. 1748.

The iſland would certainly have been reduced, if the conqueſt of it had been the principal object of the armament; for the whole of the French force conſiſted only of 500 regular troops, 200 European inhabitants diſciplined as militia, 1500 Caffre ſlaves on whoſe ſervice and attachment the French had little reliance, and 1000 ſailors belonging to the ſhips. If the wind, as it generally does, blew always againſt the entrance of the northern harbour, it would indeed be impracticable to reduce it with ſhips working againſt a contrary wind in a narrow channel, and expoſed without reſiſtance to the

1748. fire of the enemy's ſhips and batteries. But it has been diſcovered that the ſouth-eaſt wind generally blows with leaſt ſtrength about ſun-riſe; and it alſo happens, on four or five days at intervals in the courſe of a month, that early in the morning this wind ceaſes in the northern part of the iſland for an hour or two, when a breeze riſes, although faintly, from the north-weſt: during which a ſhip ſtationed at the entrance of the channel, to avail herſelf of this breeze, may enter the harbour and ply her cannon under ſail.

The fleet left the iſland the 27th of June, when the Dutch ſhips, now joined by one of their comrades which had parted company during the paſſage, quitted the Engliſh, and ſailed away for Batavia; and Mr. Boſcawen ſteered for the coaſt of Coromandel, by the neareſt paſſage, between the iſlands and ſhoals that lie to the north of Mauritius; he arrived on the 29th of July at Fort St. David, where he found the ſquadron under Admiral Griffin, who reſigned the command to him, and a few days after proceeded with a ſixty-gun ſhip and two frigates to Trinconomaly, from whence in the month of January he ſet ſail with them to England.

The junction of the two ſquadrons formed the greateſt marine force belonging to any one European nation that had ever been ſeen together in the Eaſt Indies; for it conſiſted of more than 30 ſhips, none of which were of leſs than 500 tons burden, and 13 of them men of war of the line. Every perſon attached to the Engliſh cauſe, who beheld this formidable force, was elated with joy, from expectation of its ſucceſs; and no one doubted that the loſs of Madraſs would be revenged by the capture of Pondicherry. Preparations had been made at Fort St. David to enable Mr. Boſcawen to proceed to action without delay; and on the 8th of Auguſt the army began to march.

Twelve independent companies of 100 men each, 800 marines belonging to the ſhips, with 80 artillery-men, compoſed the regular troops in the king's ſervice: the company's troops conſiſted of a battalion of 750 men, of which 300 were Topaſſes, together with 70 artillery-men: the Dutch at Negapatam ſent a reinforcement of 120 Europeans: and there were on board the ſhips, ready to be landed, 1000 ſeamen, who had been taught the manual exerciſe at ſea: in all 3720 Europeans, and 300 Topaſſes, to which were joined about

2000

2000 Sepoys, paid by the company, who as yet were ſcarcely better disciplined than common Peons. The Nabob An'war-odean, ſtill changing ſides, as he found the French or Engliſh affairs gaining the advantage, promiſed to ſend a body of 2000 horſe, but only 300 came, and they towards the end of the ſiege. The heavy cannon and the cumbrous ſtores were laden on board the ſhips, which proceeded before the army, and anchored two miles to the ſouth of Pondicherry. 1748.

The company's agents at Fort St. David had gained very little intelligence neceſſary to direct Mr. Boſcawen in his operations; for when the army approaching near the bounds of Pondicherry, came in ſight of the fort of Ariancopang, there was no perſon who could give a deſcription of the place: however, it was determined that it ſhould be taken before the army proceeded any farther. An engineer of the company's troops was ordered to reconnoitre it, but was afraid to go near enough to make certain obſervations: he however reported that the fort itſelf was of little ſtrength, but that it was covered by an entrenchment. A deſerter likewiſe reported that it was garriſoned only by 100 Sepoys: on which Mr. Boſcawen determined to ſtorm the place. Accordingly a detachment of 700 men marched at day-break againſt the eaſt ſide of the fort to attack what they ſuppoſed the entrenchment, which on a nearer approach they diſcovered to be a heap of ruins; they likewiſe perceived that the fort itſelf was a triangle regularly fortified with three cavaliers, a deep dry ditch full of pit-falls, and a covered way. Theſe works were ſufficient to protect the place from a ſudden onſet, even had it been only garriſoned as the deſerter had reported; inſtead of which it was defended by 100 Europeans and 300 Sepoys, under the command of Captain Law, an active officer. The Engliſh troops were immediately aſſailed from the walls with muſketry and grape-ſhot; and although they had brought no ſcaling-ladders, the fear of ſhame kept them in reach of the enemy's fire, until 150 were either killed or wounded. Major Goodere, the moſt experienced officer of the king's troops, was mortally wounded in this attack.

This blundering diſaſter greatly affected the ſpirits of the men. However, it was determined to perſiſt in reducing Ariancopang, and the diſciplined ſailors, with eight pieces of battering cannon, were

1748. landed from the ſhips. The French, knowing the advantage of gaining time at this ſeaſon of the year, prudently determined to defend the fort as long as poſſible. On the oppoſite ſide of the river which runs to the north, and cloſe by the fort of Ariancopang, they erected a battery of heavy cannon to obſtruct and enfilade the approaches to the fort. The Engliſh engineers erected a battery in the plain on the ſouth ſide of the river, to oppoſe and ſilence that of the enemy; but ſuch was their neglect in reconnoitring, or their want of ſkill in their art, that when at day-break they opened the battery, moſt of the guns were found to be intercepted from the ſight of the enemy's by a thick wood. The artillery officers now offered their ſervice to erect another, which they compleated with ſufficient ſkill before the next morning: and for greater ſecurity, threw up before it an entrenchment, in which a large detachment, conſiſting of ſoldiers and ſailors, was poſted. At day-break the battery began to play on that of the enemy, and the fire was continued for ſome time on both ſides, with little execution done on either. Beſides the troops within the fort, a body of 60 European cavalry encamped without the walls. This cavalry, ſupported by infantry, advanced to the entrenchment where the ſailors were poſted, who ſtruck with conſternation at their appearance, took flight, and communicated their panic to the regular troops. The French cavalry purſued them to the battery, by the fire of which they were, however, ſoon repulſed. Major Lawrence commanded this day in the entrenchment, and rather than participate of the ignominy of taking flight with the troops, remained there with two or three officers: he was diſarmed, and obliged to ſurrender himſelf priſoner to a French trooper, who knowing, it is probable, the value of his prize, immediately hurried him away by the ſide of his horſe to Ariancopang.

The ſame day a large quantity of gunpowder taking fire in the enemy's battery, blew it up, and near 100 men were either killed or diſabled by the exploſion. This diſaſter ſtruck ſuch a terror amongſt thoſe who remained in the fort, that ſome hours after they ſet fire to the chambers with which they had undermined the fortifications, and blew up the greateſt part of the walls and cavaliers, and then marched away with great precipitation to Pondicherry: as ſoon as the Engliſh

4

lish saw the explosion, they marched up and took possession of the ruins. Thus fortunately delivered, the army did not immediately proceed to Pondicherry, but remained five days longer at Ariancopang, employed in repairing the fort, in which it was determined to leave a garrison; for it was apprehended, that during the siege a detachment of the enemy's troops might again take possession of it, and from hence be enabled to intercept convoys, or harrass the army. 1748.

The town of Pondicherry was situated about 70 yards from the sea-shore: its extent within the walls was a little more than a mile from north to south, and about 1100 yards from east to west: it was fortified on the three sides to the land with a wall and rampart, flanked by eleven bastions; and two half-bastions were at the north and south extremities nearest the sea: these works were surrounded by a ditch, and an imperfect glacis. The eastern side was defended by several low batteries, capable of mounting 100 pieces of cannon, which commanded the road; and within the town was built a citadel, too small to make a long defence. The greatest part of the ground lying round the town was inclosed, at the distance of a mile from the walls, by a hedge of large aloes and other thorny plants peculiar to the country, intermixed with great numbers of coco-nut and palm-trees, which altogether formed a defence impenetrable to cavalry, and of very difficult passage to infantry: this inclosure began at the north, close by the sea-shore, and continued five miles and a half, describing a large segment of a semi-circle, until it joined the river of Ariancopang to the south, at about a mile and a half from the sea-shore, and in this part the course of the river served to compleat the line of defence. There were five roads leading from the town into the adjacent country, and at each of the openings in the hedge was built a redoubt mounted with cannon. It is probable that the hedge, at the same time that it was intended to be a defence against sudden incursions, marked the limits of the territory conceded by the prince of the country to the French, when they first established themselves at Pondicherry; and hence obtained the name of the Bound-hedge.

On the 26th of August the army marched from Ariancopang, and took possession of the village of Oulgary, lying about two miles from the

1748. the south-west part of the town. From hence a detachment was sent the same day to attack the north-west redoubt of the bound-hedge, which the enemy abandoned without resistance, notwithstanding it was capable of making a defence that would have cost the English many lives, had they been obliged to storm it. The garrisons in all the other redoubts were soon after withdrawn.

By the advice of the engineers, it was determined to attack the town on the north-west side; and, to facilitate the communication between the fleet and the camp, the ships were stationed to the North of the town.

On the 30th of August at night the army opened ground, at the distance of 1500 yards from the walls: by this the engineers shewed themselves little skilled in their art; for it is the general practice in sieges, to make the first parallel within 800 yards of the covered way. In the morning a detachment of 150 men, from the trench first thrown up, were ordered to lodge themselves about 100 yards nearer the town, and being supplied with working tools, soon covered themselves from the fire of the enemy's cannon. About noon 500 Europeans and 700 Sepoys sallied from the town under the command of Paradis, and attacked both trenches at the same time: they were repulsed at both, and lost 100 men, and seven officers; amongst the latter their commander Paradis. Ensign Clive distinguished himself with much gallantry in the defence of the advanced trench; of which we do not repeat the description published in our first edition of this work, because we are informed, that that description is very erroneous.

The approaches were continued, but carried on very slowly, from a want of experience in such operations. Two batteries of three guns were raised within 1200 yards of the town, to check any future sallies. When the army first opened ground, the bomb-ketch was ordered to bombard the citadel night and day: but in a very few days the enemy began to bombard her, and got her distance so exactly, that one of their shells staved the boat astern, and another threw the water in upon her decks; after which she kept out of the reach of the enemy's mortars in the day-time, and only bombarded in the night. Parties sallied at several times, and attacked the detachments which escorted the stores and cannon from the ships to the camp; and

and one day a detachment efcorting two pieces of battering cannon was defeated, and the cannon taken. Some troops were fent immediately to recover them; but could not come up before the enemy had conveyed them under fhelter of the ramparts. 1748.

After much hard labour the trenches were advanced within 800 yards of the walls, when it was found impoffible to carry them on any nearer; for a large morafs extended itfelf before this part of the town, and the French had preferved a back water, with which they overflowed not only the morafs, but likewife all the ground lying between the trenches and the foot of the glacis. During the aproaches, and the conftruction of the batteries on the edge of the morafs, the enemy kept up a conftant fire on the working parties, by which many were killed.

Two batteries were finifhed and began to fire on the 26th of September, one of eight, the other of four pieces of cannon, of 18 and 24 pounders: a bomb-battery of five large mortars and fifteen royals, and another of fifteen cohorns were likewife erected. The French now opened feveral embrafures in the curtain, and began likewife to fire from two or three batteries on the creft of the glacis, infomuch that the fire of the befieged was double that of the befiegers. Mr. Bofcawen, willing to employ all the means of annoyance in his power, ordered the fhips to batter the town; and before the next morning all the fhips of two tiers had warped within the diftance of 1000 yards of the walls, the fhallownefs of water not permitting them to approach nearer: the cannonading was inceffant, and terrible in appearance, but of no real effect; for the diftance of the fhips, and the motion of the fea, hindered the fhot from ftriking fucceffively the fame object. The French at firft withdrew a great number of their artillery-men from the land fide, and employed them in firing againft the fhips from the batteries which commanded the road; but perceiving the little damage that the town fuftained from the fire of the fhips, they flackened their defence on that fide, and renewed it to the land fide with as much vigour as before.

The cannonading from the fhips continued until night, when Mr. Bofcawen, finding that they had expended a vaft quantity of ammunition to no purpofe, ordered them to move in the night out of the reach of cannon-fhot; but the wind fetting in from the fea prevented them

1748. them from executing this intention: remaining therefore in the fame ftations, they began early in the morning to cannonade the town again, from whence they were fired upon with more vivacity than the day before; but at noon the wind changing, the fhips moved farther from the fhore, and the firing ceafed on both fides. Only two perfons were killed on board the fleet, the one a common failor, the other captain Adams, commander of the Harwich, a 50 gun fhip. The French gave out that the fire from the fhips had, in the two days, done no other execution than that of killing a poor old Malabar woman in the ftreet.

The fire from the batteries continued three days longer, during which that from the town increafed, and difmounted nine pieces of cannon. Very little impreffion had been made on the defences, ficknefs prevailed in the camp, the weather likewife had changed, and the rainy monfoon was begun three weeks earlier than it ufually fets in: a council of war was therefore fummoned on the 30th of September, who, apprehenfive that the rains, which at, or foon after, their firft fetting in generally overflow the whole country, might render the removal of the cannon and heavy ftores impracticable, and fearing likewife that the fhips might be driven off the coaft by hard gales of wind, unanimoufly determined to raife the fiege without delay.

Five days were employed in fhipping the cannon and heavy ftores, deftroying the batteries, and reimbarking the failors; and on the 6th of October the troops began to march to Fort St. David; but halted at Ariancopang, and blew up the fort: the rains had already rendered the roads very difficult to be paffed. On a review of the army, it was found, that during the fiege there had perifhed in action and by ficknefs 757 foldiers, 43 artillery-men, and 265 feamen; in all 1065 Europeans: very few of the Sepoys were killed, for they had been only employed to guard the fkirts of the camp, and had always ran away on the approach of danger. The French garrifon confifted of 1800 Europeans, and 3000 Sepoys, of which they loft 200 Europeans, and about 50 Sepoys.

Several caufes concurred to fruftrate this attempt againft Pondichery; of which the late arrival of the armament on the coaft, and the early fetting in of the rains, were the principal. There was no abfolute

neceffity

neceſſity to reduce the fort of Ariancopang, for a party of 200 men ſtationed near it would have always kept in awe the garriſon, which conſiſted only of 100: now the reduction of this little fort, beſides cauſing the loſs of 150 men, together with two of the moſt experienced officers, and thereby diſcouraging the reſt, ſtopt the progreſs of the whole army eighteen days. When arrived before the town, Mr. Boſcawen, unexperienced in military operations by land, relied, in obedience to his inſtructions, on the opinion of the engineers, who made a great blunder in carrying on the attacks againſt that part of the town, to which an inſuperable moraſs prevented them from approaching nearer than 800 yards: and even had there been no moraſs, the ſituation of the camp to the weſtward would have been injudiciouſly choſen, ſince it ſubjected the tranſporting of the cannon and heavy ſtores to a difficult paſſage of two or three miles, which employed the labour of numbers of ſailors, and demanded frequent detachments of ſoldiers to eſcort and defend them from the ſallies of the enemy; and the ſoldiers and ſailors thus employed were taken off from the operations of the ſiege, which required nothing leſs than the ſervice of every European in the camp. The north-ſide was the part againſt which the attack ought to have been directed: for the ground in front of this ſide was ſound, and would have permitted the approaches to have been carried on to the foot of the glacis, without meeting with any natural impediments; and the camp extending behind the lines to the northward, would have effectually protected the cannon and ſtores, when landed, from the danger of ſallies; and at the ſame time have ſaved the labour and inconveniencies of tranſporting them from a long diſtance; for they might have been landed at the camp itſelf. Very few examples of gallant ſervice were exhibited during the ſiege. The engineers were utterly unqualified for the enterprize, but the artillery-men and officers knew their buſineſs, and always behaved with reſolution; and Mr. Boſcawen himſelf on all occaſions exerted the ſame activity and courage which diſtinguiſhed his character as a naval officer; but theſe qualities did not compenſate his want of knowledge in the art of war on ſhore. This knowledge is not incompatible with ſkill in the marine ſervice; and it is much to be lamented, that both together have not of late years been culti- 1748.

1748. vated by the ſame officer; for there are very few inſtances, of late years, of a ſiege carried on by the Engliſh with leſs ſkill than this of Pondicherry.

The French ſang Te Deums, as ſoon as the ſiege was raiſed, and gave as many demonſtrations of joy, as if they had been relieved from the greateſt calamities of war. Mr. Dupleix ſent letters to all the princes of Coromandel, and even to the Great Mogul himſelf, acquainting them, that he had repulſed the moſt formidable attack which had ever been made in India; and he received from them the higheſt compliments on his own prowefs, and on the military character of his nation: This indeed was now regarded throughout Indoſtan as greatly ſuperior to that of the Engliſh.

END *of the* FIRST BOOK.

BOOK II.

THE squadron, soon after the raising of the siege of Pondicherry, left the coast to avoid the stormy monsoon: five ships went to Achin, and the rest to Trinconomalee; but Mr. Boscawen himself remained with the land-forces at Fort St. David. In November news arrived, that a cessation of arms between Great Britain and France had been proclaimed in the preceding April: but Mr. Boscawen was, notwithstanding, instructed to remain in India until he should receive intelligence that the general peace was concluded. In the beginning of January 1749, the squadron returned to Fort St. David, and about the same time Mr. Bouvet, with the same squadron which had eluded Mr. Griffin, came again from Mauritius to Madrass, where he landed a large sum of money, together with 200 soldiers. 1749

The sword was sheathed, and it depended on the agents of the two companies to re-assume in tranquillity their mercantile occupations: but the war had brought to Pondicherry and Fort St. David a number of troops greatly superior to any which either of the two nations had hitherto assembled in India; and as if it were impossible that a military force, which feels itself capable of enterprizes, should refrain from attempting them, the two settlements, no longer authorized to fight against each other, took the resolution of employing their arms in the contests of the princes of the country: the English with great indiscretion, the French with the utmost ambition.

An unfortunate prince, who about seven years before had been dethroned at Tanjore, came to Fort. St. David, and implored the assistance of the English to reinstate him, asserting with great confidence that he should no sooner appear in the kingdom, supported even by a moderate force, than his standard would be joined by numbers, and his title acknowledged by thousands. The succession of the

P 2 princes

1749. princes of his family had been so complicated, that it was difficult to ascertain to whom the crown rightfully belonged.

In the year 1680, the king of Tanjore, attacked and well-nigh overpowered by the king of Tritchinopoly, called the Morattoes to his assistance. The famous Sevagee, who at that time reigned over all the Morattoe nations, sent his brother with a strong army, which soon left the king of Tanjore nothing to fear from his enemy, but every thing from these free booters; for they made out so large an account of expences, that all the riches in the kingdom would have been insufficient to discharge what they demanded: under pretence therefore of collecting this money, they took possession of the government, and shortly after the brother of Sevagee declared himself king of Tanjore. He reigned six years, and left three sons. The eldest, Sevagee, was succeeded by the next brother, Serbogee, and he by the third, Tuccogee. Each of the three brothers left children; and after three irregular successions which took place amongst these cousin-germans in less than seven years, Saujohee, who now appeared at Fort St. David, was deposed, and his brother Pratop-sing, born of one of the inferior wives of their father Serbogee, was placed on the throne, by the general concurrence of the principal men in the kingdom, which had suffered much from the weak administration of Saujohee. The English had certainly no right to interfere in his cause. But the offers he made of concessions to the company in the kingdom of Tanjore, the favourable account given of him by the interpreters who introduced him to the presidency, and the belief too hastily entertained of a false narration of his misfortune, induced the English to think they should acquire as much honour as advantage by their efforts to reinstate him in the throne. It was stipulated that Saujohee should give the company the fort and territory of Devi-Cotah, and pay all the expences of the war, if it proved successful.

The kingdom of Tanjore extends about 70 miles from north to south, and about 60 from east to west. The river Coleroon bounds it to the north; the sea-coast, running nearly north and south, to the east: to the south it is bounded partly by the sea-coast extending east and west, and partly by the country of Morawar: to the west

it is limited by the kingdom of Tritchinopoly and the country of Tondiman: the capital, bearing the fame name as the kingdom, lieth about 30 miles eaft of Trichinopoly. 1749.

The force appointed for the conqueft of Tanjore confifted of 430 Europeans, and 1000 Sepoys, with four field pieces and four fmall mortars: the battering cannon and provifion for the troops were fent in four fhips, two of which were of the line. The army, accompanied by Saujohee, left Fort St David in the latter end of March, and on the 13th of April encamped on the bank of the river Val-aru, which difembogues itfelf at Portonovo. In the evening the northern monfoon changed, and the fouthern commenced with a hurricane, which lafted with fuch violence until four o'clock the next morning, that the tents of the Englifh camp were blown into rags, many of the draught bullocks and horfes were killed, and all the military ftores were fo much damaged, that the army was obliged to march to Portonovo in order to repair the detriments it had fuftained. Here they were informed that the ftorm had committed much greater ravages at fea: two of the company's fhips were ftranded between Cuddalore and Fort St. David: the Apollo hofpital-fhip was loft, with all her crew: the Pembroke, a 60 gun fhip, which failed on the expedition, was wrecked, and only fix of the crew faved: and the Namur of 74 guns, in which Admiral Bofcawen hoifted his flag, and which was the fineft fhip of her fize belonging to the navy of England, perifhed, with 750 men. Fortunately moft of the other fhips were either at Trinconomalee, or in parts of the coaft to which the greateft violence of the hurricane did not extend.

The army having repaired its damages, left Portonovo, and marching by the great pagoda of Chilambaram, arrived at the bank of the northern arm of the Coleroon. Here Captain Cope, who commanded, encamped and intrenched, refolving to learn the ftate of affairs on the oppofite fhore before he proceeded any farther. The intelligence he received was very different from what he expected: no perfons of any rank offered to declare for Saujohee, and not a fingle fquadron appeared ready to join him: on the contrary, a great number of troops belonging to the king of Tanjore were feen moving up and down the

1749. the oppoſite bank, and ſeemed determined to diſpute the paſſage of the river. Thus diſappointed, and ignorant of the enemy's ſtrength as well as of the nature of the country, Captain Cope did not think his force ſufficient to proſecute the enterprize, and waited until he was reinforced from Fort St. David with 100 Europeans and 500 Sepoys: he then croſſed the river, which, although a mile broad, was fordable, and, contrary to his expectation, the army met with little reſiſtance from the enemy whilſt they were paſſing it; but difficulties increaſed as they advanced: the road in which they attempted to march led through a thick wood, and the enemy from behind the buſhes began to annoy them with arrows, and the fire of their matchlocks; whilſt large bodies of horſe and foot appeared in the circumjacent plains, moving in the rear and on the flanks. This being the firſt expedition in which the Engliſh troops were engaged againſt the forces of an Indian prince, the ſoldiers were ſtruck with no ſmall degree of fear, on comparing the ſuperior numbers of the enemy with their own; but the artillery-men preſerved their reſolution, and fired with ſo much ſpirit and aim, that they kept the enemy at a diſtance, and reſtored the courage of their own troops, who being ordered to march back, gained the bank of the river without confuſion. Here the army drew up, the field-pieces ſecuring the flanks, and the river the rear. A council of war was held to deliberate whether they ſhould proceed, or wait for more favourable advices than thoſe hitherto received out of the Tanjore country; but whilſt the council were ſitting, a meſſenger arrived with poſitive orders from Mr. Boſcawen to continue the march, and attack the Fort of Devi-Cotah at all events. In the interval ſome of the ſoldiers had diſcovered a road leading along the bank of the river towards the ſea-coaſt; and the army began to march this way, although very little of it had been reconnoitred: it led through a much more open country than the other, and the river defended the troops from being ſurrounded. This lucky diſcovery ſaved them from deſtruction; for it was afterwards found, that by perſiſting in the firſt road, they would, from the nature of the country, have been involved in inextricable difficulties, into which the Tanjorines had hoped to intice them, by making no reſiſtance at the paſſage

paſſage of the river. They ſtill continued to move within random ſhot of the Engliſh; their ſquadrons ſometimes threatening to attack, but always retiring as ſoon as the field-pieces began to fire. After a march of ten miles the troops halted, late in the evening, a mile to the eaſtward of Devi-Cotah: where they neither ſaw, nor received intelligence of the ſhips; for not a man of the country ventured near the army; and the lowneſs of the ground, together with the thick woods that covered it, prevented the ſhips from being diſcovered, although they were at anchor near the mouth of the river, within four miles of the camp. 1749.

The army, relying on the ſhips, had brought no more proviſion than were neceſſary for the conſumption of three days, and were deterred, by the numbers of the enemy, from ſending detachments to procure any; at the ſame time they were without battering cannon. Under theſe inconveniencies there appeared no means of reducing the fort, excepting by a ſudden aſſault, and the walls were too high to be eaſily eſcaladed. Some propoſed to advance the field-pieces in the night, and batter down the gates; which indeed was the only practicable method of attack; but being deemed too deſperate, it was determined to endeavour to terrify the enemy by bombarding the place with cohorns. Shells were thrown until the morning, when the fire ceaſed until the next night: and before the next morning all the ſhells were expended, without having done any damage to the fort, or made any impreſſion on the minds of the garriſon. It was therefore reſolved to retreat without delay.

The army returned by the ſame road it came. During the firſt mile the country was covered with woods, from which the enemy galled the flank of the line, not only with muſquetry, but alſo with ſome pieces of heavy artillery, which they had brought into the thickets; and ſome platoons of Europeans were detached to diſlodge them. The thickets extended to the bank of a rivulet which the troops had croſſed in the march to Devi-Cotah, during the retreat of the tide: the rivulet was at that time fordable, and no one had examined it ſufficiently to form an idea of the depth of the channel, which was now filled with water by the riſing of the tide, and the ſtream

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1749. ran very rapidly. The Coolies, who carried the leſs bulky parts of the baggage, marched before the troops, and as ſoon as they came to the bank of the rivulet, were fired upon with great vivacity from the thickets. Timorous, as are all the lower caſts of Indians, they plunged into the ſtream, which was ſeven or eight feet deep, and preſſing upon one another with outcries and confuſion, loſt by their fears the ſtrength neceſſary to ſave themſelves, and in leſs than a quarter of an hour 400 of the poor wretches were drowned. The troops, ſpectators of this diſaſter, halted, and fired to diſlodge the enemy, until the tide had ebbed ſufficiently; when they paſſed the rivulet without interruption, and continuing their retreat unmoleſted, arrived at Chilambarum late at night, much fatigued with the ſkirmiſhes they had ſuſtained, and with a march of 15 miles: the next day they returned to Fort St. David.

The intelligence gained during this expedition, convinced every one that the cauſe of Saujohee was deſtitute of abettors amongſt his countrymen. The preſidency neverthele ſs determined to continue the war; but this reſolution did not now proceed ſo much from the intention of reſtoring Saujohee, as from the deſire of wiping out, by ſome ſucceſs, the reproach of having retreated before the arms of an Indian prince, and from the views of making ſome acquiſitions to compenſate the expences which had already been incurred. The fort of Devi-Cotah is ſituated in a populous country, in which manufactures of linnen proper for the company's trade are fabricated; and the neighbouring territory is the moſt fertile part of the coaſt of Coromandel. On this coaſt, from Maſulipatnam to Cape Comorin, there is no port capable of receiving a ſhip of 300 tons burden; which defect ſubjects the navigation of theſe parts to great riſques at particular ſeaſons. The mouth of the river Coleroon, near Devi-cotah, is indeed generally obſtructed by ſands, but the channel within the bar is deep enough to receive ſhips of the largeſt burden; and it was thought that the bar itſelf might with ſome labour and expence be removed: if this ſhould be effected, the greateſt advantages would accrue to the European nation which ſhould obtain the excluſive poſſeſſion

of

of this harbour. It was therefore determined to make the reduction of Devi-Cotah the principal object of the new expedition, which it was thought would be amply compensated by gaining possession of this place, even if no farther advantages accrued from the war. 1749.

The whole body of the company's troops, amounting with the artillery-men to 800 Europeans, together with 1500 Sepoys, were ordered on the expedition, under the command of major Lawrence. From the difficulties already experienced in approaching Devi-Cotah by land, it was determined that the army should now proceed by sea: the Europeans, with the artillery and baggage, were embarked on board six ships, three of the line and three belonging to the company, and the Sepoys accompanied the ships in large boats, used by the people of Coromandel to carry on their traffick along the coast. The vessels arrived at the same mouth of the Coleroon where the ships of the former expedition had anchored; and the troops and stores passed in boats up the arm of the river which led to Devi-Cotah, and were landed on the opposite shore, from which it was determined to batter the fort, because the ground on the other side was marshy and covered with woods, and the king of Tanjore's army was encamped under the walls.

The fort was about a mile in circumference, having six unequal sides; and the walls were about 18 feet high, built with bricks, the masonry of which was in most parts broad enough to form a rampart, without any addition of earth: and were flanked at unequal distances by projecting towers, some of which were circular, and others square. The English fired across the river obliquely upon the eastern side of the fort from four 24 pounders, which in three days made a practicable breach. The enemy did not return the fire, nor attempt to repair the breach, but employed themselves in carrying on an entrenchment from the bank of the river across the side of the fort which the English attacked.

The passage of the troops over the river was rendered dangerous, both by the rapidity of the stream, and by the numbers who had taken possession of the thickets which covered the opposite shore. John Moor, a carpenter belonging to one of the men of war, offered his service, and made a stage capable of receiving 400 men, which was

1749. launched at ſome diſtance below the battery, and towed up to it againſt the ſtream. The raft could not be moved acroſs the river unleſs by a rope fixed on the oppoſite bank; but the ſtations of the enemy rendered this a very hazardous enterprize: the ſame carpenter who had made the raft, offered to execute this ſervice likewiſe, and in the middle of a very dark night ſwam over the river, carrying the end of a rope with him, which he faſtened to the root of a large tree within a few yards of one of the enemy's advanced guards, by whom he was not diſcovered.

The rope was ſunk in the water, that the enemy might not perceive it; and the next day, at two in the afternoon, the firſt detachment of 400 Europeans, with three field pieces, embarked upon the raft; at the ſame time the four pieces of battering cannon, with ſix field pieces, began to fire with great vivacity upon the oppoſite thickets, to deter the Tanjorines from approaching the bank near enough to diſcover the rope. They were ſo much ſurprized at this new and unexpected manner of approach, that, fortunately, none of them gueſſed the means by which it was performed. The walls and towers of the fort were manned with multitudes, who, as well as thoſe under cover of the thickets, fired irregularly, but without intermiſſion, from their matchlocks; but the detachment, although much galled, refrained from returning the fire, leſt the buſtle of handling their arms ſhould overſet the raft, which in a quarter of an hour gained the ſhore. The troops advanced immediately to diſlodge the Tanjorines poſted in the thickets, who retreated as ſoon as they were fired upon, and took ſhelter either within the fort, or behind the projections of the towers. The raft was ſent back, and in the ſpace of two hours made ſeveral paſſages, during which the enemy kept up a continual fire, both on the troops that were landed, and on thoſe on the raft, and killed 30 Europeans and 50 Sepoys before the whole army had paſſed the river.

Major Lawrence determined to ſtorm the breach without delay. The entrenchment which the Tanjorines intended to throw up before it, was left unfiniſhed; for the Coolies quitted the work as ſoon as it was advanced ſo far as to place them in the line of the ſhot battering the walls. The part which was finiſhed was nevertheleſs of ſome ſervice, for it commanded the ground over which the Engliſh troops were obliged to march to the attack, and likewiſe flanked the breach

itſelf.

itself. About fifty yards in front of the entrenchment ran a deep and miry rivulet, which extended quite across the island on which Devi-Cotah is situated. 1749.

Lieutenant Clive offered his service to major Lawrence to lead the attack; and the major, who had remarked the rising military genius of this officer, very readily gave him the post of honour he requested. A platoon of 34 Europeans, with 700 Sepoys, were appointed for this service, who were to be supported by the whole army as soon as the entrenchment should be carried. The Europeans, marching at the head of the Sepoys, crossed the rivulet with difficulty, and four of them were killed by the fire from the fort before they gained the opposite bank. As soon as part of the Sepoys had passed likewise, lieutenant Clive advanced briskly with the Europeans, intending to attack the entrenchment in flank at that end where the Coolies had discontinued the work. The Sepoys who had passed the rivulet, instead of following closely, as they were ordered, remained at the bank, waiting until they were joined by greater numbers. The enemy perceived this neglect, which left the rear of the Europeans exposed: a number of horse were concealed along the south side of the fort, between the projections of the towers; the nearest of which was not more than forty yards from that part of the entrenchment which lieutenant Clive was preparing to attack. Just as his men were presenting their muskets to fire, a party of horse rushed sword in hand from behind the tower, and by a rapid evolution, which manifested the excellence both of the horses and the riders, fell on the rear of the platoon with so much impetuosity, that the men had no time to face about and defend themselves, and in an instant 26 of the platoon were cut to pieces. A horseman had his sword uplifted to strike at lieutenant Clive, who escaped the blow by stepping on one side whilst the horse passed him; he then ran towards the Sepoys, whom he had the good fortune to join, being one of four who were all that escaped from this slaughter. He found the Sepoys drawn up in order, but they had not advanced a step to support the platoon. The Tanjorine horse, satisfied with their success, did not prosecute their advantage by attacking the Sepoys, but returned to the stations from whence they had made the onset.

1749. Major Lawrence, on this disaster, determined to attack the trench with all the Europeans, who now crossed the rivulet, and advanced in a compact body, with a platoon of grenadiers at their head. The enemy kept up an irregular fire until the grenadiers came to the trench, and then they took flight along the southern side of the fort: The English troops immediately moved up to the breach, when the Tanjorine horse sallied again from behind the tower; and were suffered to approach within fourteen yards before the first platoon gave its fire, which was so well directed that it struck down fourteen horsemen: this execution flung the rest into such confusion that they immediately fled back, and the troops mounting the breach, found it abandoned by the garrison, whom they discovered hurrying from all quarters of the fort to make their escape out of the opposite gateway: at the same time all the Tanjorine horse quitted their stations near the fort, and retreated to the westward.

Some of the officers examining the different buildings of the fort, found in one of the chambers a Tanjorine lying on the ground desperately wounded, whom, incapable of moving without assistance, the garrison in their precipitate flight had neglected to carry off, altho' he was an officer of rank, and an Indian of a very high cast. He was taken care of, but with a sullen obstinacy refused every kind of assistance, and would not submit to the necessary operations, until he found that the surgeon intended to use force. He was no sooner left alone than he stripped off the bandages, and attempted to put an end to his life, by tearing open his wounds: some persons were therefore appointed to watch him continually, and he was removed into a thatched hut in a distant part of the fort, that his rest might not be disturbed. Finding himself constantly watched, he behaved for three days with so much composure, that they, to whose care he was entrusted, thought he was reconciled to life, and relaxing their attention, left him in the night, as they imagined asleep; but they were no sooner got to some distance, than the Tanjorine crept to the corner of the hut, where a lamp was burning, and with it set fire to the thatch, which, in that dry season of the year, caught the blaze so fiercely, that he was suffocated before it could be extinguished. This Indian fell a

martyr

martyr to his ideas of the impurity he had contracted by ſuffering Europeans to adminiſter to his wants. 1749.

The troops were employed for a few days in repairing the breach, and in other works neceſſary to put the fort in a good ſtate of defence; after which major Lawrence detached a party of 100 Europeans, with 300 Sepoys, to take poſſeſſion of the pagoda of Atchaveram, lying five miles to the ſouth-weſt of Devi-Cotah. All the pagodas on the Coaſt of Coromandel are built on the ſame general plan: a large area, which is commonly a ſquare, is incloſed by a wall of 15 or 20 feet high, and in the middle of the area are the temples, which, as if it was intended that they ſhould be concealed from public view, are never raiſed above the height of the ſurrounding wall. In the middle of one or more of the ſides of this wall is a gateway, over which is built a high tower, not deſigned as a defence to the pagoda, but as an hiſtorical monument of the gods to whom it is dedicated; for the four faces of the tower are crouded with ſculptures, repreſenting the attributes and adventures of theſe divinities. The pagoda of Atchaveram is a ſquare of which each of the ſides extends about 300 yards: it was ſurrendered to the Engliſh detachment on the firſt ſummons by the Bramins, who intreated them not to enter the more ſacred places: but the Tanjorine army no ſooner heard that the Engliſh had got poſſeſſion of it, than their horror of the pollutions to which their temple was expoſed, inſpired them with a reſolution, which neither their attachment to their prince, nor their notions of military honour, would have produced. A party of 5000 men marched from the camp, and as ſoon as it was night attacked the pagoda; ſome with ladders attempting to mount the walls, whilſt others endeavoured to burn down the gate, by piling up againſt it large bundles of ſtraw mixed with other combuſtible matters. The Engliſh, knowing they ſhould all be put to the ſword, if the Tanjorines retook the place, defended themſelves vigorouſly: ſome were employed in overſetting the ladders, whilſt others fired upon thoſe who attempted to mount them. The guard who defended the gate opened the wicket, firing through it and puſhing down the bundles of ſtraw with their halberts: the enemy ſtill perſiſted to bring more ſtraw, and continued their attacks until break of day, when they retreated, having

1749. loſt near 300 men: only five or ſix of the defenders were killed. The next day major Lawrence marched with the greateſt part of the army to captain Cope's aſſiſtance, and the Tanjorines made no farther attempts.

By this time admiral Boſcawen and the government of Fort St. David had ſufficient reaſon to believe, that any future undertaking againſt the kingdom of Tanjore would be attended with great difficulties. At the ſame time the king made propoſals of accommodation. The Engliſh ſtipulated that the fort of Devi-Cotah, with as much land adjoining to it as would produce the annual income of 9000 pagodas, ſhould be ceded to the Eaſt India company for ever: that the king of Tanjore ſhould reimburſe the expences of the war; and that he ſhould allow Saujohee a penſion of 4000 rupees; they obliging themſelves to be anſwerable for his perſon, as likewiſe that he ſhould never give any more diſturbance to the kingdom. The king of Tanjore acceded without heſitation to theſe conditions; but his compliance did not proceed ſo much from his dread of the Engliſh arms, as from his ſenſe of the danger with which his kingdom was threatened, in conſequence of events which happened a few days before in the Carnatic, and which had ſtruck the whole coaſt of Coromandel with conſternation.

Chunda-ſaheb, made priſoner by the Morattoes, when they took the city of Tritchinopoly in 1741, was eſteemed by them a prize of ſo much importance, that they not only kept him under the ſtricteſt confinement, but rejected all the offers he made for his ranſom, as much inferior to what they imagined his wealth enabled him to pay. The richeſt prince in Indoſtan never heſitates to plead poverty whenever money is to be paid; and Chunda-ſaheb, either unable or unwilling to ſatisfy their exorbitant demands, remained in his confinement, correſponding for ſix years with his friends in different provinces, and ſuggeſting to them the means of inducing the Morattoes to ſet him at liberty for a moderate ſum.

The chiefs who were related to the former ſucceſſion of Nabobs, which ended by the aſſaſſination of the young Seid Mahomed, retained their averſion to the reign of An'war-odean Khan; but they ſaw no one amongſt themſelves in the Carnatic endowed with ſufficient

cient power and reputation to attempt the recovery of the government into their own family. There exifted indeed at Vandiwafh a brother of Seid Mahomed, born after the death of their father, the Nabob Subder-ally; but the infancy of this prince rendered him unfit to appear at the head of a confederacy: And altho' Mortiz-ally, the governor of Velore, was a near relation to the former Nabobs, and poffeffed a large domain with great treafures, yet he wanted intrepidity fufficient to head a dangerous enterprize, and the knowledge of his treacherous difpofition deftroyed all confidence in the engagements he might enter into. Of the reft, none had great reputation as generals, nor great power as princes; but, collected under a proper head, their ftrength might become formidable. 1749.

Chunda-faheb had made his way to the higheft offices of the government by the fervices of his fword, and was efteemed the ableft foldier that had of late years appeared in the Carnatic. His contempt of the fordid means by which moft of the Indian princes amafs treafures, had gained him the affections of the whole province; and an excellent underftanding contributed to make his character univerfally revered. The reft of the chiefs therefore concurred in regarding him as the fitteft perfon to enter into competition with An'war-odean Khan for the Nabobfhip; but this teftimony of their deference for fome time only ferved to rivet his fetters more ftrongly; for the Morattoes increafed their demands in proportion as they found the character of their prifoner rifing in importance.

The wife and fon of Chunda-faheb had remained at Pondicherry from the time that he was carried away by the Morattoes; and the year after that event Mr. Dupleix arrived there, appointed governor-general of the French nation in India. He treated the family of Chunda-faheb, under his protection, with great refpect; and by a frequent intercourfe with the wife, very foon learnt the ftate of her hufband's affairs, and the difpofitions of his relations in the province. His fagacity diftinguifhed, in thefe latent principles of future convulfions, a poffibility of aggrandizing his nation in India, where many caufes concurred to prevent their eftablifhments from becoming fo eminently advantageous as he was ambitious of rendering them.

The Englifh, eftablifhed in Indoftan many years before the French had

1749. had made any ſettlements in the country, had confirmed in the natives a prepoſſeſſion in their favour, by the punctuality of their dealings, the goodneſs of the commodities they imported, and, above all, by the great extent of their trade; and this ſuperiority perpetually interrupted the progreſs of the French commerce. At the ſame time the affairs of all the European colonies were controuled by the Mogul government almoſt as much as thoſe of the natives themſelves, who are ſubject to the moſt deſpotic ſway; for their trade was liable to the interruption of every great and petty officer through whoſe diſtrict or department it paſſed; and in Bengal, where Mr. Dupleix had reſided for a long time, there ſcarcely paſſed a year in which the Nabob did not extort large ſums of money from each of the European ſettlements: garriſons were maintained, and other military expences incurred, which greatly diminiſhed the profits of the trade; but ſuch was the high opinion of the military ſtrength of the Indian governments, that the European troops were never employed in oppoſition to the will of the prince of the country. At the ſame time all the manufactures of India proper for the markets of Europe had, from a long ſucceſſion of importations of ſilver, riſen ſo much in price, and diminiſhed ſo much in the goodneſs of the fabrick, that they afforded much leſs profit than in former times. The concurrence of theſe diſadvantages convinced Mr. Dupleix that the trade of Indoſtan was no longer worth the attention of France, nor indeed of any other nation in Europe. But diſcovering the unmilitary character of the natives, and the perpetual diſſentions of their rulers, he was led to imagine, that by joining ſome of theſe competitors he might gain by conqueſt more advantages than any other European nation had hitherto derived from commerce. He therefore determined to proſecute this plan, by giving aſſiſtance to Chunda-ſaheb.

Theſe ideas probably dictated thoſe impediments which he flung in the way of Mr. De la Bourdonnais's operations, to prevent him from employing his troops, after the capture of Madraſs, in other parts of India; for at that time Mr. Dupleix held a conſtant correſpondence with Chunda-ſaheb in his impriſonment, and they were then concerting the means of accompliſhing their mutual intereſts. The meaſure neceſſary to be firſt carried into execution, was the releaſe of Chunda-ſaheb; and, Mr. Dupleix guaranteeing the engagement, the Morattoes were at laſt

ſatisfied with 700,000 rupees, and conſented to furniſh him with 1749.
3000 of their own troops.

With this force, and the ſpirit of an adventurer, he left Sattarah in the beginning of the year 1748, intending to make conqueſts wherever opportunity preſented itſelf, until he ſhould acquire, by contributions, the treaſures neceſſary to maintain an army ſufficient to attack the province of Arcot. He arrived, during the ſiege of Pondicherry, on the weſtern confines of the Carnatic, and found two Rajahs at war: he ſided with one of them, who, betrayed by ſome of his officers, was totally defeated in a general battle, in which it is ſaid that Chunda-ſaheb himſelf was taken priſoner, but that he was immediately releaſed on producing a declaration from the king of the Morattoes, which enjoined all princes whomſoever to reſpect his perſon, on pain of incurring the reſentment of the whole Morattoe nation. The greateſt part of Chunda-ſaheb's troops, were diſperſed after this defeat, and he was left with only 300 men, when he received an invitation from the Rajah of Chitterdourg, to come to his aſſiſtance, and take the command of his army againſt the Rajah of Bedrour. The territories of theſe two princes lie near the eaſtern confines of the country of Canara, which extends along the coaſt of Malabar between the rivers Alega and Cangrecora. Diſaſters could not depreſs the ſpirit of Chunda-ſaheb; he marched away, with the handful of men he commanded, and arrived juſt as the two armies were ready to engage. In this battle his courage and ſkill were ſo well ſeconded by the troops of Chitterdourg, that he obtained a compleat victory: three thouſand of the enemy's horſe, after the defeat, offered their ſervice to him, whom he took into his pay, and likewiſe 2500 of the troops of his ally: ſo that he was now at the head of 6000 men: but this force being ſtill inſufficient to attempt the conqueſt of the Carnatic, he found reſources in the conſequences of other events, which had lately happened at Delhi, and in the government of the ſoubahſhip of the ſouthern provinces.

The Great Mogul Mahomed Schah, who had ſuffered in 1739 the humiliation of laying his crown at the feet of Thamas Kouli Kan, by whom he was again reinſtated in the monarchy of Indoſtan, continued to govern the empire with ſo trembling a hand, that the principal officers of his court acted in their ſeveral departments without controul:

1749. but the vizier Kimmir-ul-dien, who had held this office ever ſince the acceſſion of Mahomed, continued inviolably attached to his ſovereign. None of the ſubſequent events of the government of Delhi affect immediately the preſent object of our narrative, until the year 1748; when an army of Afghans from Candahar, invaded the northern provinces under the command of Ahmed the *Abdalli*, ſo called from his tribe. This man was treaſurer to Nadir Schah, when aſſaſſinated on the 8th of June 1747, in Perſia; on which event, he went off with all the treaſure under his care, and in leſs than ſix months eſtabliſhed himſelf in the ſovereignty of all the provinces of Indoſtan ceded to the Perſians in 1739, and of as large a territory on the other ſide of the mountains. Ahmed Schah, the eldeſt ſon of Mahomed, with the vizier, marched againſt the Abdalli; various encounters enſued with various ſucceſs, and during a cannonade the vizier was ſlain by a ſtraggling cannon ball, whilſt at prayers in his tent. His death afflicted the emperor ſo violently, that after paſſing the night in lamentations, he expired the next day ſitting on his throne, in a fit brought on by the agony of his grief. The prince Ahmed, leaving the command of the army to Munnu the ſon of the deceaſed vizier, immediately returned from the army to Delhi, and was acknowledged emperor without oppoſition, in the month of April 1748.

The death of Mahomed Schah was in a few months ſucceeded by another of greater conſequence to Indoſtan: it was that of Nizam-al-muluck, Soubah of the Decan, who, notwithſtanding his whole life had paſſed in the utmoſt intrigues, anxieties, and iniquities of oriental ambition, arrived to the uncommon age of 104 years.

He left five ſons; the eldeſt, Ghazi-o'-dean, inherited all the ambition and wickedneſs of his father, with a more enterprizing and intrepid ſpirit. Nizam-al-muluck, when returning to the Decan, after the retreat of Nadir Schah, had obliged the weak Mahomed to confer the offices of paymaſter and captain-general of the army on this ſon; in which poſts he continued at the court, employing his power, as his father before him, againſt the authority of his ſovereign, and ſoon became the patron of all the turbulent or diſaffected omrahs in the empire. On the death of his father, he obtained the ſucceſſion to the ſoubahſhip of the Decan from the emperor Ahmed Schah: but was too much engaged in other affairs at Delhi to proceed to this government.

ment. The ſecond ſon Nazir-jing had once fled from his father's court, and appeared in arms againſt him. The father took the field; and when the two armies were near each other, confined himſelf to his tent ſo ſtrictly, that by firſt making his own army believe he was reduced to the point of death by ſickneſs, the report was likewiſe believed in the camp of Nazir-jing, and by Nazir-jing himſelf, to whom meſſengers were continually ſent with pathetic invitations from his father, deſiring to embrace him before he died. The ſtratagem was ſo well conducted, that Nazir-jing at laſt determined to pay the viſit, and no ſooner entered Nizam-al-muluck's tent, than he was arreſted, and put into fetters, and accompanied his father under this reſtraint during ſeveral months, until Nizam-al-muluck being perſuaded of his contrition, accepted of his ſubmiſſions, and ſet him at liberty; after which he was not guilty of any diſobedience. The other three ſons had not diſtinguiſhed themſelves either for good or evil, but had always remained conſtant attendants at their father's court. 1749.

The great men in Indoſtan bear great affection to their children during their infancy; but as ſoon as theſe arrive at the age of emancipation, the perpetual intrigues of an Indian court render them, from being a conſolation to their parents, the objects of their miſtruſt: for there are never wanting thoſe who endeavour to engage them in parties, and even in plots: from hence it often happens, that a prince, in his latter days, lives without affection to his own ſons, and gives every kind of paternal preference to his grandchildren; and this recurs ſo frequently to obſervation, that one of the oriental poets has ſaid, "that the parents have, during the life of their ſons ſuch overweening affection for their grandchildren, becauſe they ſee in them the enemies of their enemies." Amongſt the grandſons of Nizam-al-muluck was one born of his favourite daughter. This young man, called Hidayet mohy-o-dean, he had always kept near his perſon, and cheriſhed with great affection, inſomuch that, immediately after his death, a report prevailed, that he had in his will not only appointed this grandſon to inherit the greateſt part of his treaſures, but had likewiſe nominated him to ſucceed in the government of the ſouthern provinces. It is very difficult to aſcertain the authenticity of any of the written acts aſcribed to the princes of Indoſtan, for uſing a ſeal as

1749. their ſignature, the impreſſion is eaſily counterfeited ; and this, as well as other methods of forgery, are commonly practiſed without ſcruple, whenever it is thought expedient to have recourſe to them : ſo that we cannot determine whether the report of the bequeſt made by Nizam-al-muluck to his grandſon was well grounded, or without foundation : it is certain, that it was generally believed. As a feudatory to the Mogul empire, Nizam-al-muluck had no right to bequeath even his treaſures, much leſs his ſovereignty.

Nazir-jing had for ſome time commanded his father's army, and availed himſelf of the power derived from his offices to oppoſe the pretenſions of his nephew Hidayet mohy-o-dean. He began by ſeizing Nizam-al-muluck's treaſures, and with them prepared to keep poſſeſſion of the ſovereignty : he pretended, that his father had named his eldeſt ſon Ghazi-o'-din Khan to be his heir : and that Ghazi-o'-din Khan preferring the employment he held at the court of Delhi, had ceded to him the ſoubahſhip of the ſouthern provinces : and that this ſovereignty was confirmed to him from the throne.

Amongſt other inſtances of the contempt with which the majeſty of the emperor has been treated, the governors of provinces have of late years not only counterfeited without heſitation, letters, orders, and patents, from the court, but have even hired men to act the part of officers inveſted by the Great Mogul with the power of conferring with them on the affairs of their government. Theſe mock delegates are received with great pomp in the capital : the vice-roy or Nabob humbles himſelf before the pretended repreſentative, who delivers in public his credentials, and the fictitious orders he has been inſtructed to enforce. Theſe meaſures are practiſed to appeaſe the minds of the people, who ſtill retain ſo much reverence to the blood of Tamerlane, that a vice-roy always thinks it neceſſary to create an opinion amongſt them that he is a favourite with the emperor, even when he is in arms againſt his authority. Both Nazir-jing and Hidayet mohy-o-dean exhibited patents from the Mogul, and produced delegates from Delhi. Hidayet mohy-o-dean gave out that the emperor, on appointing him to ſucceed to his grandfather's eſtates, had dignified him with the name of Murzafa-jing, or The Invincible ; by which he was afterwards diſtinguiſhed.

tinguiſhed. But the wealth of which Nazir-jing had taken poſſeſſion enabled him to keep his father's army in pay; and this was ſo numerous, that the forces which Murzafa-jing had collected were not ſufficient to oppoſe him with any probability of ſucceſs. This prince therefore kept the field in the countries weſt of Gol-condah, with an army of 25,000 men, waiting for ſome lucky event that might enable him to attack his uncle with more advantage. 1749.

Chunda-ſaheb, ſoon after his ſucceſs at Chitterdourg, heard of the ſituation of Murzafa-jing's affairs, and regarding him as a prince, who, like himſelf, from the ſimilarity of their fortunes, was obliged to try the chance of bold and deſperate enterprizes, he determined to join, and offer him the ſervice of his ſword: his military reputation cauſed him to be received with open arms, and the troops which he brought with him were taken into Murzafa-jing's pay. Chunda-ſaheb highly acknowledged his right to the ſoubahſhip of the ſouthern provinces, and ſoon gained his confidence by the zeal he expreſſed for his cauſe: he then explained his own pretenſions to the government of the Carnatic, and eaſily prevailed on his new lord to confirm his titles by letters patent, appointing him to the Nabobſhip of Arcot; but the obtaining of this favour was not the only proof of the great aſcendance which he had acquired over the young prince's mind He repreſented that the countries near Gol-condah were too much awed by the terror of Nazir-jing's army to declare in Murzafa-jing's favour, until he could collect a much greater force than that which accompanied him at preſent; and that the ſame dread would be a perpetual obſtacle to the augmentation of his army in the countries where he now kept the field; but that his force was fully ſufficient for the conqueſt of the Carnatic againſt his own rival An'war-odean Khan; that this conqueſt, by putting them in poſſeſſion of the extenſive territories which lie between Arcot and Cape Comorin, would furniſh ſuch reſources both of men and money, as might enable him to return and attack Nazir-jing with equal force. Chunda-ſaheb then offered himſelf as the companion and conductor of Murzafa-jing, until this hardy enterprize ſhould be accompliſhed, or, if fortune frowned, until they ſhould both periſh in the attempt. The romantic caſt of this project could not fail of making the ſtrongeſt impreſſion on the mind

of

1749. of a young prince naturally brave, and ambitious of acquiring a ſovereignty. Murzafa-jing now looked upon Chunda-ſaheb as his guardian angel, and agreed implicitly to follow all his views.

Mr. Dupleix very ſoon received intelligence of theſe reſolutions, and was invited to take part in the project, with aſſurances of receiving conſiderable advantages for himſelf and the French Eaſt India company, if it ſucceeded. Nothing could be more conformable to his views than ſuch an opportunity of aggrandizing at once his own reputation and the intereſts of his nation in India. As ſoon as he heard that Murzafa-jing's army approached the confines of the Carnatic, he ordered 400 Europeans and 2000 Sepoys to march and join them. This body was commanded by Mr. d'Auteuil, and accompanied by Raja-ſaheb, the ſon of Chunda-ſaheb, who had reſided at Pondicherry during the whole time of his father's impriſonment.

An'war-odean, the Nabob of Arcot, from his acceſſion after the murder of Seid Mahomed, had governed the Carnatic without receiving any diſturbance from inteſtine commotions, and very little from foreign hoſtilities; for all the military operations of his reign had conſiſted in the reduction of certain Polygars, who, from territories confining on the Carnatic, had made ſome predatory incurſions into the province. But his attention had been conſtantly fixed on the perſon of Chunda-ſaheb: he kept emiſſaries at Sattarah, to obſerve him during his confinement, which it is probable he protracted by bribing the Morattoes. As ſoon as Chunda-ſaheb was ſet at liberty, the Nabob never doubted, how much ſoever he diſſembled, that the time approached when he ſhould be obliged to maintain his government by his ſword. He reformed his army, which, like thoſe of moſt Indian princes in times of peace, was compoſed of an undiſciplined rabble; and enliſted none but the beſt men and horſes, of which he compoſed a well-appointed army, conſiſting of 12,000 cavalry and 8000 infantry, and with this force determined to defend the entrance of the Carnatic to extremity: but another meaſure equally neceſſary to his preſervation he omitted; for he neglected, probably from the parſimony of his diſpoſition, to aſk from the Engliſh the aſſiſtance of a body of their troops; and the Engliſh, employed

ployed in ſupporting a much leſs important cauſe, were equally blind to their real intereſt, in neglecting to join the Nabob of their own accord, as ſoon as they found the French determined to ſupport his rival. 1749.

Chunda-ſaheb and Murzafa-jing approached, levying contributions in the countries thro' which they paſſed, in virtue of the quality of Soubah, aſſumed by Murzafa-jing. In their progreſs they likewiſe augmented the number of their troops, which, when arrived at the borders of the Carnatic, amounted to 40,000 men. The troops ſent from Pondicherry croſſing the weſtern mountains, at a diſtance from the Nabob's army, joined Murzafa-jing without oppoſition; who immediately proceeded to attack the Nabob, and found him encamped, with 20,000 men, under the fort of Amboor, lying 50 miles weſt of Arcot, and about 30 to the ſouth of Damal-cherry, where Doaſt-ally Khan was killed fighting againſt the Morattoes in 1740. This fort of Amboor is built on the ſummit of a mountain, between which and a large lake at ſome diſtance from it is one of the principal paſſes leading into the Carnatic. The Nabob had thrown up acroſs the paſs a ſtrong entrenchment defended by cannon, which was ſerved by about 60 vagabond Europeans: and he had likewiſe cauſed the ground in front of the entrenchment to be ſwamped with water from the lake, which, although it might bemire, was not ſufficiently deep to prevent the paſſage of determined troops.

Mr. d'Auteuil offered to Chunda-ſaheb to ſtorm the entrenchment with the troops ſent from Pondicherry, without the aſſiſtance of any part of Murzafa-jing's army; and Chunda-ſaheb, glad of an opportunity to ſhew that prince the great ſervices which the European allies he had procured him were capable of performing, readily accepted the offer. The French ſoldiers were animated by exaggerated repreſentations of the gr treaſures and other valuable plunder in the Nabob's camp, and advanced with the Sepoys reſolutely to the attack; but they were repulſed, chiefly by the Nabob's artillery, of which the firſt diſcharge was well pointed, and did execution: they rallied, and made a ſecond attack, which laſted more than half an hour, and many of them had mounted the breaſt-work of the entrenchment; but they were again beaten off, and obliged to retire; and in this attack Mr. d'Auteuil was

1749. wounded. Stimulated by the expectations which were entertained of their prowess by Chunda-saheb and Murzafa-jing, who with the whole army under their command had been spectators of the repulses they had sustained, and equally encouraged by the intrepidity of their own officers, especially of Mr. Bussy, they called out to be led on again: at the same time the courage of the defenders had been staggered by the progress which the French troops had made in the preceding attack; who in this found less resistance than they expected, and got over the breast-work with little loss. The different bodies posted to defend the entrenchment took flight as soon as they saw the French in possession of it: these formed, and advanced in order towards the enemy's main body, where the Nabob's standard was displayed. He was here in person, mounted on an elephant, and surrounded, according to the Indian military array, by the chosen cavalry of his army, whom he was animating with great spirit to stand their ground, when numbers of the troops of Murzafa-jing, led by Chunda-saheb, having crossed the entrenchment, joined the French battalion, and appeared advancing with them. In this instant the Nabob was informed that the standard of Maphuze Khan, his eldest son, who commanded a wing of the main body, had disappeared, and that Maphuze Khan himself was slain by a cannon shot. In the first agitations caused by this disaster, he perceived the elephant of Chunda-saheb, and knew the ensigns of his rival: more than one passion was now excited; and the Nabob, furious by the sight of the author of this calamitous day, ordered the conductor of his elephant, with the promise of a great reward, to push directly against the elephant of Chunda-saheb. A part of the French battalion was in the way: they fired; a shot from the musquet of a Caffre went through the Nabob's heart, and he fell from his elephant dead on the plain. As it generally happens in the battles of Indostan on the death of the commander in chief, all those troops who had hitherto appeared determined to stand by the Nabob's standard, fled as soon as he fell, and the rout became general. Murzafa-jing's troops pursued the fugitives, took many, and killed more. Amongst the slain were three or four principal officers; and amongst those who surrendered was Maphuze Khan the Nabob's eldest son: his son Mahomed-ally was likewise in the battle; but he saved himself by flight. Twelve

of the French battalion were killed, and 63 wounded: and about 300 of their Sepoys were either killed or wounded: of Murzafa-jing's army very few were loſt. This deciſive battle was fought on the 23d of July: the victorious army found the tents of the defeated ſtanding, and great quantities of baggage in the camp, which they plundered: the booty was valuable; ſixty elephants, and a great number of horſes, were taken; which, with the artillery, arms, and military ſtores, Chunda-ſaheb and Murzafa-jing reſerved to themſelves, and permitted their ſoldiery to take the reſt of the ſpoil: the French battalion had their reward in money. The next day the army ſet out for Arcot, the capital, and took poſſeſſion of the city, and its fort, without meeting any oppoſition. 1749.

Murzafa-jing here aſſumed all the ſtate and ceremonial of a Soubah; and, as the firſt mark of his authority, iſſued letters patent, appointing his friend Chunda-ſaheb Nabob of the Carnatic, and of all the other dominions which had been under the juriſdiction of An'war-odean Khan. This ſudden revolution naturally ſtruck with conſternation all the chiefs and princes of the coaſt of Coromandel, who wiſhed ill to the cauſe of Chunda-ſaheb. Foremoſt of theſe was the king of Tanjore, whoſe anceſtor, at the time that the Moors conquered the Carnatic, ſubmitted on condition of governing his country by its ancient cuſtoms; and for the enjoyment of this privilege agreed to pay an annual tribute, as well as to furniſh a contingency of troops whenever the government of the Carnatic ſhould be at war in ſupport of the intereſt of the great Mogul. When Chunda-ſaheb, in 1736, was confirmed in the government of Tritchinopoly, he ſummoned the king of Tanjore to account for arrears of tribute, and pretended that he had in other reſpects offended againſt the ſovereignty of the emperor. A war enſued, in which Chunda-ſaheb beſieged the capital of Tanjore, but without ſucceſs. The dread entertained of his ambition by the princes of the ſouthern parts of the peninſula, together with their deteſtation of the violations committed by his troops in their temples, induced theſe princes, and above all the king of Tanjore, to ſolicit the Morattoes to invade the Carnatic, at the ſame time that Nizam-al-muluck, from other motives, was inſtigating that people to attack it. The diſaſters brought on the reign-

1749. ing family at Arcot, and the detriment which Chunda-saheb himself had suffered by the incursion of the Morattoes, were such as left no hopes of reconciliation in those who had contributed to bring about that revolution. The news of the battle of Amboor reached Tanjore whilst the English troops under the command of Major Lawrence were in the country, and struck the king with so much terror, that, to gain their friendship, or even to make them cease hostilities at this critical conjuncture, he would, if insisted on, have agreed to much harder terms than those which the English imposed. After the ratification of the treaty by which Devi-Cotah was ceded, Major Lawrence, leaving a garrison in that fort, returned with the rest of the troops to fort St. David, where news had been lately received that a peace was concluded in Europe between Great Britain and France.

The revolution at Arcot did not fail to create much solicitude in the English at Fort St. David; and the part which Mr. Dupleix had taken in it sufficiently explained his ambitious views: but unfortunately their own proceedings at this very time against the king of Tanjore destroyed the propriety of any protests against Dupleix's conduct; for they could accuse him of nothing, which they had not done themselves. Avoiding therefore any discussions on the battle of Amboor, they confined themselves for the present to demand the restoration of Madrass, which the French, by an article in the peace of Aix la Chapelle, were obliged to deliver up. Mr. Boscawen, with a part of the squadron, sailed thither to take possession of the town: it was evacuated in the middle of August; and the English received it in a condition very different from that in which they had left it. The buildings within the White Town had suffered no alteration; but the bastions and batteries of this quarter had been enlarged and improved. The French had utterly demolished that part of the Black Town which lay within 300 yards from the White: in which space had stood the buildings belonging to the most opulent Armenian and Indian merchants: with the ruins they had formed an excellent glacis, which covered the north side of the White Town; and they had likewise flung up another to the south side. The defences, nevertheless, remained still much inferior to those of Fort St. David, where the fortifications had been so much improved, that the East India company

pany had ordered the presidency of their settlements on the coast of Coromandel to be continued here. 1749.

Mr. Boscawen, during his stay at Madrass, discovered that the Indian Roman Catholics residing at St. Thomé, who composed the greatest part of the inhabitants of this place, were, by the influence of their priests, attached to the French, as brethren of the same persuasion. By the constant intercourse arising from the vicinity, the priests of St. Thomé were enabled to get intelligence of the transactions of the English at Madrass, and never failed to communicate them to Mr. Dupleix, who gave out that Murzafa-jing had made over the property of St. Thomé to the French company. Mr. Boscawen, to remove the present inconveniencies, and to prevent the greater detriments which would arise by the establishment of a French garrison in the town, took possession of it for the English company. The town had for many years belonged to the Nabobs of Arcot; and after the death of An'war-odean Khan seemed to belong to nobody, for there were no officers either civil or military acting with authority in the place. All the suspected priests were banished: and one of them, who had been sent by Mr. Dupleix from Pondicherry, was transported to Europe. The English flag was hoisted in the town, and a small redoubt, capable of containing about 30 men, was raised at the mouth of the river.

In the mean time Murzafa-jing and Chunda-saheb were employed at Arcot in settling the affairs of their new government: they summoned all the chiefs of districts, and governors of forts, friends as well as foes, to pay a contribution, which they received from many, and, amongst the rest, Mortiz-'ally, the governor of Velore, paid 700,000 rupees. After having thus established the reputation of their authority as sovereigns, they proceeded with the greatest part of their army, accompanied by the French battalion to Pondicherry, and made their entry into the city with great pomp. Mr. Dupleix received them with all the ostentatious ceremonies and oriental marks of respect due to the high rank they assumed, and spared no expence in his entertainment of Murzafa-jing, to raise in him a high opinion of the grandeur and magnificence of the French nation. Here they settled the plan of their future operations; and Chunda-saheb pre-

1749. ſented Mr. Dupleix with the ſovereignty of 81 villages in the neighbourhood of Pondicherry: after which he took the field with Murzafa-jing, and encamped about 20 miles to the weſt of the city.

Mahomed-ally, the ſecond ſon of An'war-odean Khan, fled from the battle of Amboor directly to Tritchinopoly, where his mother, with the greateſt part of his father's treaſures, had been ſent for ſecurity, on the firſt news of Chunda-ſaheb's approach to the Carnatic. This city was much better fortified than any place of the ſame extent under An'war-odean Khan's government; nevertheleſs there remained little hopes of defending it againſt Murzafa-jing, aſſiſted by the French troops, unleſs the garriſon was reinforced by a body of Engliſh; and Mahomed-ally, not doubting but they would be convinced of the neceſſity of ſtopping the progreſs of the French, applied to them, as ſoon as he arrived at Tritchinopoly, for aſſiſtance. He aſſerted, that both Murzafa-jing and Chunda-ſaheb were rebels to the empire; that Nazir-jing was the real Soubah appointed by the Great Mogul; that he himſelf was the real Nabob of the Carnatic, having obtained the reverſion of the Nabobſhip from Nizam-al-muluck; and that he daily expected to receive the confirmation from Nazir-jing: a few days after he affirmed that he had received the patents of his appointment.

Whilſt Mr. Dupleix was proſecuting a plan which he knew to be entirely agreeable to the views of the monarch and miniſters of France, the agents of the Engliſh Eaſt India company were not authorized from the court of directors to involve their affairs in the riſk and expences of military operations: for having neither ſuſpected the views of Mr. Dupleix, nor, until the tranſitory expedition to Tanjore, entertained any ſuch views themſelves, they had neglected to aſk, and conſequently the directors to give, ſuch a power to exert themſelves as the preſent emergency of affairs required: at the ſame time they retained their ancient reverence to the Mogul government. Murzafa-jing, for ought they knew, might be the Mogul's repreſentative, and ſo might Nazir-jing: they were in the ſame uncertainty of Mahomed-ally's title; and therefore dreaded the riſque of ſubjecting the company's ſettlements in all parts of India to the reſentment

of

of the court of Delhi, if, by interfering in the preſent war of Coromandel they ſhould chance to take the wrong ſide. Neceſſity was their juſtification for having taken poſſeſſion of St. Thomé; and they already repented ſeverely of their expedition to Tanjore: and relinquiſhing all views of conqueſt, they imagined that the reſtitution of theſe places would at any time ſatisfy the Mogul government, which they were very unwilling to offend any farther. Reſtrained by this ſpirit of caution, at the ſame time that they fully ſaw the dangers to which they were expoſed, they were incapable of taking the vigourous reſolutions which the neceſſity of their affairs demanded. They ſhould have kept Mr. Boſcawen with his force on the coaſt, and joined their whole ſtrength to Mahomed-ally, without conſidering who was or was not authorized to fight in the Carnatic: whereas they only ſent 120 Europeans to join Mahomed-ally at Tritchinopoly, and ſuffered Mr. Boſcawen to return to England with the fleet and troops, notwithſtanding he had declared that he would remain, if the preſidency publickly requeſted his ſtay at this critical conjuncture. 1749.

On the 21ſt of October the fleet ſailed from Fort St. David, leaving behind 300 men, to reinforce the garriſon. The French were ſo ſenſible of the great advantages they ſhould derive from Mr. Boſcawen's departure, that they could not immediately bring themſelves to believe he intended to quit India; but imagined that he had only left the coaſt to avoid the ſtormy monſoon, and purpoſed to return as ſoon as that ſeaſon was paſſed. However, they were prepared to take advantage even of this abſence, ſhort as they ſuppoſed it; and the very next day Murzafa-jing's army, accompanied by 800 Europeans, 300 Caffres and Topaſſes, with a train of artillery, began to march from Pondicherry, and croſſing the river Coleroon, entered the kingdom of Tanjore.

Mr. Dupleix had ſtrongly recommended to Chunda-ſaheb to ſuffer nothing to divert him from proceeding directly to attack the city of Tritchinopoly; ſince it was evident, that until this place was reduced, the family of An'war-odean Khan would always be enabled to make efforts to recover the Nabobſhip. Chunda-ſaheb acquieſced in the truth of this reaſoning; and, not to diſcourage the ardour with which

1749. Mr. Dupleix supported his cause, solemnly promised to follow his advice, when at the same time he intended to act contrary to it. From the dread of lessening his own importance, as well as that of Murzafa-jing, he had carefully concealed from Mr. Dupleix that their treasures, notwithstanding the large contributions they had raised, were almost exhausted by maintaining so numerous an army; and fearing that the siege of Tritchinopoly might be protracted so long, that their troops would desert for want of pay before the place was taken, he had determined to open the campaign by the siege of Tanjore, which being ill fortified, he hoped in a few days either to take, or to reduce to such extremities, as would induce the king to pay a large sum of money to save his capital and his crown.

As soon as the army entered the kingdom, Chunda-saheb summoned the king to pay the arrears of tribute from the death of the Nabob Subder-ally Khan in 1742; asserting, that whatever he might have paid in the interval to An'war-odean Khan was not a tribute to the Mogul government, but a contribution to support a rebel. It is the custom in Indostan to make the conquered pay all the expences of the war; and Chunda-saheb adding to the account of the arrears an exaggerated account of the charges of Murzafa-jing's expedition into the Carnatic, made the total of his demand amount to 40 millions of rupees. The King, upon the first approach of the enemy, had shut himself up in his capital, and now seeing the storm, which he had for some time apprehended, ready to break upon his head, lost courage, and offered to pay a ransom: this was more necessary to Chunda-saheb, than either the reduction of the city, or even the conquest of the kingdom; for in the first case the treasures, as is the custom in times of danger, would be buried, and in the other no revenue, in the confusions of a revolution, could be collected for some months. In order therefore to convince the king of his readiness to enter into a negociation, he did not suffer his army to approach nearer than three miles of the city; and he requested the commander of the French battalion not to commit hostilities during the treaty. The wily Tanjorine knew that by protracting time he should increase the distress of his enemies, and in his letters expressed himself with so mnch

much ſeeming humility, that Chunda-ſaheb ſuffered himſelf to be amuſed to the middle of December, without having ſettled the terms of accommodation. In the mean time the king, correſponding with Mahomed-ally at Tritchinopoly, joined with him in exhorting Nazir-jing, at Gol-condah, to come and ſettle the affairs of the Carnatic in perſon, after the example of his father Nizam-al-muluck. He likewiſe ſolicited the aſſiſtance of the Engliſh, who exhorted him to defend himſelf to the laſt extremity; but ſent to his aſſiſtance no more than 20 Europeans, who were detached from Tritchinopoly, and entered the city of Tanjore in the night. 1749.

Mr. Dupleix beheld with great anxiety this detention of the army before Tanjore, and continually ſent letters, repreſenting to Chunda-ſaheb the ſuperior importance of Tritchinopoly: and finding that his exhortations had no effect, he ordered the commander of the French battalion to endeavour to break off the treaty, by committing ſome ſignal hoſtility. By this time Chunda-ſaheb likewiſe thought it neceſſary to attack the place, and, in order to intimidate the Tanjorines, made his whole army march round the walls ſounding their military muſic. This proceſſion was repeated four days ſucceſſively, but without effect. The Tanjorines fired from the walls upon the troops, whilſt they were making this parade; and on the fifth day the French troops attacked three redoubts, about 600 yards from the walls, and carried them with the loſs of five Europeans. Early the next morning ſome of the king's miniſters came to the camp, and entered into conference with Chunda-ſaheb, who made his propoſals, and allowed the king two days to conſider of them; but finding that no anſwer was returned on the third, he directed the French commandant to bombard the town: a few ſhells fell near the king's palace, and frightened him ſo much, that he immediately ſent deputies to the camp; who renewed the conferences, which continued three days longer without concluding any thing. The French commandant, more weary than Chunda-ſaheb of theſe delays, renewed the bombardment; and the enemy, aſſiſted by the Engliſh ſoldiers, anſwered it by the fire of many pieces of cannon, which they had brought from different parts of the fortifications to that which was oppoſite the French attack. Exaſperated by this unexpected reſiſtance,

1749. they aſſaulted one of the gates of the city, and carried it; but were nevertheleſs prevented from entering the town by ſtrong entrenchments. However, this ſucceſs thoroughly intimidated the king and he now, for the firſt time, entered ſeriouſly into the diſcuſſion of Chunda-ſaheb's demands, and ratified the treaty on the 21ſt of December; by which he agreed to pay Chunda-ſaheb, as Nabob, 7,000,000 rupees, and 200,000 immediately in hand to the French troops; he likewiſe ceded to the French company the ſovereignty of 81 villages, which had formerly depended on the town of Karical, where the French had eſtabliſhed themſelves, and built a fort, againſt his will, in the year 1736.

1750. We are not exactly informed of the ſum ſtipulated to be immediately paid; but in theſe military collections the firſt payment rarely exceeds a fourth part of the whole aſſeſſment. The king paid the money with the ſame ſpirit of procraſtination that he had employed in making the agreement. One day he ſent gold and ſilver plate, and his officers wrangled like pedlars for the prices at which it ſhould be valued; another day he ſent old and obſolete coins, ſuch as he knew would require ſtrict and tedious examination; and then he ſent jewels and precious ſtones, of which the value was ſtill more difficult to be aſcertained. Chunda-ſaheb ſaw the drift of theſe artifices, and knowing them to be common practices, ſubmitted to wait, rather than loſe the money, of which he was ſo much in want. In theſe delays ſeveral weeks more elapſed; and the king of Tanjore had not completed the firſt payment when Mr. Dupleix informed Chunda-ſaheb, that Nazir-jing was approaching from Gol-condah, and adviſed him at all events to take poſſeſſion of Tanjore as a place of refuge. But this news ſtruck Murzafa-jing with ſo much terror, that he immediately broke up his camp with precipitation, and marched back towards Pondicherry.

Nazir-jing, little regarding the ſchemes of Murzafa-jing, but very apprehenſive of the intentions of his elder brother, Ghazi-o-dean, to superſede him in the ſoubahſhip of the ſouthern provinces, was advancing towards Delhi with a conſiderable army, when he heard of the battle of Amboor. The conqueſt of the Carnatic rendered his nephew no longer a chimerical adventurer, but a formidable rival; he therefore deſiſted from his journey to Delhi, and returned to Gol-condah, where he immediately

mediately began to augment his army, and ſent orders to all the Nabobs and Rajahs, whoſe territories lie to the ſouth of the Kriſtna, to hold themſelves in readineſs to accompany him, with the number of troops which, either as princes paying tribute, or as feudatories of the empire, they were obliged to furniſh in times of danger to the Mogul government. It is probable, from the implicit obedience which was paid to theſe orders, that he was generally believed to be the real repreſentative of the emperor. For ſome time Nazir-jing imagined, that the report alone of theſe extraordinary preparations would intimidate his nephew, and induce him to make ſubmiſſions: but finding that Murzafa-jing, purſuing his ſucceſſes, had marched into the kingdom of Tanjore, he ſet out from Gol-condah, and advanced towards the Carnatic. His army, encumbered with all the preparations neceſſary to furniſh the ſame luxuries in his camp as he enjoyed in his capital, made ſlow and dilatory marches, and was during its progreſs every day augmented by the coming in of the different troops ſummoned to join him. He had hired three bodies of Morattoes, of 10,000 men each, to act as the huſſars of the army: one of theſe was commanded by Morari-row, the ſame man who was left governor of Tritchinopoly when the Morattoes took the city from Chunda-ſaheb in 1743. Morari-row was ſent forward, and in the middle of February arrived on the bank of the Coleroon, the ſouthern boundary of the Carnatic, before any other part of Nazir-jing's troops had entered the province to the north. They met near the Pagoda of Chillambrum the army of Murzafa-jing, returning with the French battalion; and being not ſtrong enough to venture a general battle, they divided into different bodies, and continued to harraſs the enemy's line of march, which extended three leagues: they were often repulſed by the fire of the French field pieces, notwithſtanding which they continued to return to the charge, and accompanied Murzafa-jing's army until it arrived at Villanore. Murzafa-jing and Chunda-ſaheb went into Pondicherry to confer with Mr. Dupleix, who ſharply reproached Chunda-ſaheb for having deviated from the plan of attacking Tritchinopoly, as alſo for not taking poſſeſſion of Tanjore. It was now no longer time to diſſemble, and Chunda-ſaheb confeſſed the motives of his conduct by repreſenting the diſtreſs to which Murzafa-jing's 1750.

1750. affairs, as well as his own, were at that time reduced for want of money: he added, that what they had received at Tanjore had likewise been expended in the pay of the army, to whom such arrears were still due, that he every day apprehended some tumult, or perhaps a general defection to their common enemy Nazir-jing. The known generosity of Chunda-saheb secured him from the suspicion of dissembling in this declaration, and Mr. Dupleix now shewed his ability to conduct the ambitious cause in which he was engaged, by not hesitating to employ the treasures of the French company to relieve the distress of his allies. He lent them 50,000 pounds, and gave out that he intended to furnish them with still larger sums: this well-timed assistance reconciled and pacified the army of Murzafa-jing. At the same time Mr. Dupleix augmented the French battalion to the number of 2000 Europeans, and ordered this body to encamp, under the command of Mr. d'Auteuil at Villanore, where the army of Murzafa-jing was posted.

Nazir-jing on entering the Carnatic, summoned Mahomed-ally to join him from Tritchinopoly, and dispatched letters to Fort St. David, requesting the English to send a body of Europeans; and he ordered all the troops that marched from the northward to rendezvous under the forts of Gingee, situated about 35 miles to the northwest of Pondicherry. Large bodies arrived there every day; and at length, about the middle of March, came up Nazir-jing himself with the main body. When the whole was assembled, his army consisted of 300,000 fighting men, of which more than one half were cavalry, together with 800 pieces of cannon, and 1300 elephants. This force, and the number of great lords who followed his standard, convinced the English that Nazir-jing was the real Soubah of the southern provinces, and they ordered the detachment at Tritchinopoly to proceed with Mahomed-ally, who with 6000 horse joined Nazir-jing at Valdore, about fifteen miles from Pondicherry. A few days after, on the 22d of March, major Lawrence, with a body of 600 Europeans from Fort St. David, came to his camp, which was now in sight of that of Murzafa-jing.

A member of the council, and captain Dalton, a military officer, accompanied major Lawrence, and were authorized, in conjunction with

with him, to treat with Nazir-jing on the interests of the East India company; he received this deputation with politeness, and, amongst other oriental compliments, desired Major Lawrence to take upon him the command of his whole army, and proposed to attack the enemy immediately. Major Lawrence represented, that the attack would cost the lives of many brave men, as the French occupied a strong post defended by a large train of artillery; but that, by moving his army between the enemy and Pondicherry, he might, by cutting off their communication, oblige them to fight at a greater disadvantage. Nazir-jing replied, "What! shall the great Nazir-jing, the "son of Nizam-al-muluck, even for an advantage, suffer the disgrace "of seeming to retreat before so despicable an enemy? No, he would "march and attack them in front." Major Lawrence replied, that he might act as he pleased; the English would be ready to support him. The two armies were so near, that an engagement seemed inevitable; and there was so much disorder at this time in the French battalion, that had the advice of Nazir-jing been followed, the attack he proposed would have been successful. 1750.

The French officers who accompanied Murzafa-jing to Tanjore had taken care to receive, out of the first payments made by the king, the money that had been stipulated as their share of the contribution. On the return of the army to Pondicherry, most of these officers requested and obtained leave to quit the camp, and repose themselves from their fatigues in the city, and others were sent to supply their places. These entering upon service just as Nazir-jing's army assembled at Gingee, complained loudly that they should have been chosen to stand the brunt of danger, without any prospect of advantage, whilst those, who had without any risque got so much money at Tanjore, were suffered to retire from the field. They made remonstrances, and demanded a sum of money, to put their fortunes upon an equality with those to whose posts they succeeded. Mr. Dupleix attempted to bring them back to their duty by severity; but on arresting one, all the rest insisted on receiving the same treatment; and their numbers being too great to be spared from the service of the camp at this critical time, the whole party were suffered to remain

1750. without punishment, and continued to sow faction and discontent. The soldiers, from this example of their officers, grew insolent, and became regardless of their duty.

Such was the confusion in the French camp, when Major Lawrence arrived at that of Nazir-jing. The next day the two armies drew out in view of each other, and a cannonade ensued. Mr. d'Auteuil having no reliance on his troops, and dreading the consequences of being attacked by the English, sent a messenger to acquaint Major Lawrence, that although the troops of the two nations were engaged in different causes, yet it was not his intention that any European blood should be spilt: and as he did not know in what part of Nazir-jing's army the English took post, he could not be blamed if any of the French shot came that way. Major Lawrence returned answer, that the English colours were carried on the flag-gun of their artillery, which if Mr. d'Auteuil would look out for, he might from thence discover where the English were posted. He added, that although he was as unwilling as Mr. d'Auteuil, to spill European blood, yet if any shot came that way, he should certainly return them. A shot from the French entrenchment flew over the English battalion; and Major Lawrence, imagining that it was fired by Mr. d'Auteuil's order, to try whether the English would venture to come to action with the French, directed it to be answered from three guns: the seditious French officers, instead of encouraging, disheartened their men, by exaggerated descriptions of the superior force of the enemy. The cannonade did little execution, and ceased in the evening.

As soon as the night set in, 13 officers went in a body to Mr. d'Auteuil, gave up their commissions, and immediately left the camp; and by this scandalous desertion confirmed the panic of the troops, who naturally imputed it to fear. Mr. d'Auteuil dreading the consequences of exposing his men in this confusion to a general action, took the resolution of withdrawing immediately from the field, and ordered the battalion to march without delay to Pondicherry. Murzafa-jing and Chunda-saheb knew of the sedition, but never suspecting that it would have produced this consequence, were overwhelmed with astonishment, when they found that their entreaties and remonstrances could not induce Mr. d'Auteuil to alter his determination.

For ſome days before the cannonade, meſſengers had paſſed between the two camps, with overtures of accommodation; and ſeveral officers in Nazir-jing's army had aſſured Murzafa-jing, that if he ſubmitted, they would protect his perſon, and guarantee the execution of any treaty which he might make with his uncle; but his reliance on the French troops and Mr. Dupleix, had hitherto prevented him from laying down his arms. There was now no time to be loſt in deliberation, for every one was convinced that in conſequence of the retreat of the French battalion, the whole army, before another ſun was ſet, would provide for its ſafety, either by taking flight, or by going over to Nazir-jing. Chunda-ſaheb who had every thing to fear from the reſentment of Nazir-jing, took his reſolution in the inſtant, to accompany the French troops to Pondicherry. Murzafa-jing ſtill heſitated. His principal officers determined him, by repreſenting the irreparable diſgrace of expoſing the ſtandard of the empire, which he diſplayed, to retreat: for it is ſuppoſed that this enſign never retreats. He therefore refuſed to accompany Chunda-ſaheb; and relying on the aſſurances which had been made to him from Nazir-jing's camp, reſolved to ſend deputies thither, with offers to ſurrender. After this gloomy conference, the two friends oppreſſed, but not ſo much overpowered by their misfortunes as to deſpair of meeting again in a better hour, embraced and ſeparated with profeſſions of inviolable attachment, which although made by princes in Indoſtan, were ſincere. The French battalion, with ſome ſquadrons of horſe led by Chunda-ſaheb, decamped at midnight in ſilence, but in ſuch confuſion, that they left behind forty gunners, with eleven pieces of cannon. At the ſame time the deputies of Murzafa-jing repaired to the tent of Shanavaze Khan, who with the principal officers of the *durbar*, or court, introduced them to Nazir-jing. This prince was ſo overjoyed at the proſpect of having his nephew in his power, that it is ſaid he did not heſitate to ſwear on the koran, that he would neither make him a priſoner, nor deprive him of the governments which he enjoyed during his grandfather's life. 1750.

On theſe aſſurances, Murzafa-jing left his camp, and proceeded to pay his reſpects to his uncle; but on approaching the head-quarters, was arreſted, and carried under a ſtrict guard into a tent near that of

Nazir-jing,

1750. Nazir-jing, where he was immediately put into fetters: as ſoon as the prince was ſeized, his camp was attacked, and his troops ſurpriſed made little reſiſtance: many were ſlain during the purſuit, for the Soubah's troops gave no quarter. A party of horſe fell in with the French gunners, who had been abandoned by the reſt of the battalion, and cut the greateſt part of them to pieces. They would have deſtroyed the whole, had not the Engliſh reſcued ſome of them from their fury; but moſt of theſe were wounded. The Morattoes commanded by Morari-row, puſhed on in purſuit of the French battalion, and came up with it before it had gained the bound-hedge. Mr. d'Auteuil formed his men into a hollow ſquare, which Morari-row attacked and broke into, with only 15 men, imagining that the reſt of his party followed him; on ſeeing his danger when ſurrounded he immediately made another effort, and broke through the oppoſite ſide with ſix men, loſing nine in this ſecond attack. The Morattoes continued to harraſs the army until they arrived at the bound-hedge: they killed 19 of the Europeans, and would have done more execution, had they not been vigorouſly oppoſed by the cavalry commanded by Chunda-ſaheb, who behaved with great activity and reſolution during the retreat.

This victory intirely diſperſed the army of Chunda-ſaheb and Murzafa-jing, and, together with the impriſonment of his rival, ſeemed to aſſure to Nazir-jing the quiet poſſeſſion of the ſoubahſhip: but his capacity was unequal to the management of ſo great an employ, and treaſon began already to taint his councils. The Nabobs of Cudapa, Canoul, and Savanore, were the moſt conſiderable of the feudatory lords who had accompanied him into the Carnatic: they were all three, Pitans by birth, and poſſeſſed the daring temper which characterizes that nation. They had obeyed the ſummons of Nazir-jing, and taken the field without reluctance, becauſe they made no doubt of obtaining, in reward of their military ſervice, a remiſſion of large ſums they owed to the Mogul's treaſury, as well as conſiderable immunities in their reſpective governments: but Nazir-jing, who aſſumed the full ſtate of a ſoubah, paid no regard to their pretenſions, and treated them as feudatories, who had done no more than their duty in joining the Mogul's ſtandard. Diſappointed in their expectations,

tations, they grew weary of a war by which their interefts were not benefited, and to put an end to it, had been the firft to advife Murzafa-jing to fubmit. They were feconded in thefe intentions of bringing about a reconciliation by Shanavaze Khan the prime minifter, and feveral of the principal fervants of Nazir-jing's court: but thefe were actuated by better motives; for, owing their fortunes to Nizam-al-mulack, their gratitude to his memory, and attachment to his family, made them behold with affliction a civil war between his fon and grand-fon. It was to thefe nabobs and minifters, as well as to the ambaffadors of Murzafa-jing, that Nazir-jing had given thofe folemn affurances of not injuring his nephew, which he broke as foon as he got him into his power. This breach of faith hurt the minds of all who had interfered in inducing the young prince to furrender: but the minifters were content to make gentle reprefentations to their mafter, whilft the Pitan Nabobs openly and loudly complained of the affront caft upon themfelves, by his contempt of obligations, for the performance of which they had promifed to be refponfible; and from this hour they confederated, and meditated mifchief, but agreed to fhew no farther fymptoms of difcontent until they could carry their defigns into execution. 1750.

At Pondicherry, the retreat of the French battalion, the news of Murzafa-jing's imprifonment, and the difperfion of his army, naturally created the greateft confternation. But Mr. Dupleix, although more affected than any one by thefe fudden reverfes, had command enough over himfelf to fupprefs the emotions of his mind, and diffembled great ferenity. He immediaately ordered the army to encamp out of the bounds, fent other officers to command it, arrefted the mutinous, directed Mr. d'Auteuil to be tried for retreating without orders, and by his own refolution re-eftablifhed in fome meafure that of the troops. At the fame time he knew that the number of his Europeans, unfupported by an Indian army, was infufficient to make a ftand againft the vaft force of Nazir-jing, affifted by the Englifh battalion; but his knowledge of the general character of the princes of Indoftan, made him not defpair of difcovering, or even of creating fome faction in the court of Nazir-jing, which, artfully managed, might contribute to re-eftablifh the broken affairs of Murzafa-jing and Chunda-faheb.

1750. In order therefore to gain the time and intelligence of which he ſtood ſo much in need, he determined to enter into a negociation. He had ſome days before written a letter to Nazir-jing, in which he had offered to make peace, on condition that Murzafa-jing was re-inſtated in his former governments, and Chunda-ſaheb put in poſſeſſion of the Nabobſhip of the Carnatic. To this letter Nazir-jing had returned no anſwer, and Mr. Dupleix made uſe of this neglect as a pretext to continue the correſpondence. He aſſerted, that the retreat of the French troops had been executed in conſequence of orders which he himſelf had given, in hopes of accelerating the peace, by that proof of his averſion to continue hoſtilities; and to convince Nazir-jing that the troops had not taken flight, as was believed in his camp, he boldly magnified the ſlaughter they made when attacked in their retreat. He reminded him of the hoſpitality and good treatment which his ſiſter the mother of Murzafa-jing, received in Pondicherry; recommended this prince to his clemency, and deſired leave to ſend ambaſſadors.

Nazir-jing conſented to receive the embaſſy, and two of the council of Pondicherry went to the camp; one of them was well verſed in the Indoſtan and Perſic languages, which are the only tongues uſed in the courts of the Mahomedan princes. They had an audience of ceremony, after which they conferred, as uſual, with the council of miniſters, and after ſeveral higher demands, they made their ultimate propoſals, which were, that the eſtates of Murzafa-jing ſhould be inveſted in the ſon of that prince, until Nazir-jing could be prevailed upon to reconcile himſelf to the father; and that Chunda-ſaheb ſhould be appointed Nabob of the Carnatic. The council of miniſters, although many of them wiſhed well to Murzafa-jing, would not venture to repreſent to their maſter the demands made by Mr. Dupleix in his behalf; and told the French deputies, that the pretenſions of Chunda-ſaheb were ſtill leſs admiſſible, ſeeing that the government of the Carnatic was beſtowed on Mahomed-ally, the ſon of An'war-odean Khan. The French deputies left the camp, after having remained in it eight days; but although they failed in gaining the apparent ends of their miſſion, they obtained the real advantages Mr. Dupleix propoſed from it, by making themſelves acquainted with the ſtate of Nazir-jing's court, and by eſta-

bliſhing

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contented Nabobs of Cudapa, Canoul, and Savanore.

Suſpicions were entertained of the clandeſtine conduct of the French deputies, and Major Lawrence was informed, that ſome deſign was carrying on in the camp againſt the Soubah, in which Shanavaze Khan, the prime miniſter, was the principal agent. The latter part of this report was not true, and the firſt could not be proved: however, the major, at an audience, endeavoured to acquaint Nazir-jing with what he had heard, but his interpreter had not courage to make a declaration, which would probably have coſt him his life, and miſrepreſented what he was ordered to ſay. There was no other method of conveying this intelligence; for the ſtate maintained by Nazir-jing, as Soubah, ſuffered no letters to be directly addreſſed to him, and no one was admitted to a private conference but his prime miniſter, who was involved in the accuſation, or his domeſtics, who, as in all courts, were dependants on the miniſter.

On the return of the deputies, Chunda-ſaheb began to levy troops, and Mr. Dupleix thought it neceſſary to re-eſtabliſh the reputation of the French arms by ſome enterprize, which might convince the allies he had gained in Nazir-jing's camp, that he was both prepared and determined to continue the war. Mr. d'Auteuil, who had taken the command again, marched before day, and attacked by ſurprize one of the quarters of the camp, into which the troops penetrated a mile, firing at fugitives: for, as it is the cuſtom in an Indian army to make the great meal at night, and after it to ſmoke opium, and other ſoporiferous drugs, the whole camp towards morning is generally in ſo deep and heavy a ſleep, that a few reſolute and diſciplined men may beat up thouſands, before they recover alertneſs ſufficient to make any vigorous reſiſtance.

In the mean time major Lawrence with the battalion remained in the camp, and with the other deputies ſollicited Nazir-jing to confirm the grant, which Mahomed-ally, now eſteemed Nabob of Arcot, had made to the Eaſt-India company of a territory near Madraſs, in return for the aſſiſtance of their troops. He had often promiſed to comply with this requeſt; but his miniſter Shanavaze Khan regarded

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1750. ſuch a ceſſion as inconſiſtent with the majeſty of the Mogul empire, and prevented the *phirmaund*, or patent, from being iſſued from his office. Wearied with prevarication, major Lawrence inſiſted on a peremptory anſwer, on which he was aſſured that he ſhould be immediately ſatisfied, provided he would march with the battalion to Arcot, where Nazir-jing had taken the reſolution of going with his whole army. He did not think it prudent to comply with this propoſal, leſt the French and Chunda-ſaheb ſhould take advantage of his abſence and invade the Engliſh territory. He therefore endeavoured to divert the Soubah from this purpoſe, by repreſenting that it would give the enemy an opportunity of recruiting their forces, and recommencing hoſtilities; whereas by remaining near Pondicherry, he might, by cutting off their communications with the country, reduce them to ſuch diſtreſſes as would oblige them to accept of peace on his own terms. This reaſoning producing no effect, the major returned with the battalion to Fort St. David, and in the latter end of April Nazir-jing broke up his camp at Valdore, and marched to Arcot.

From hence he ſent orders to ſeize the houſes and effects, which the French company had in the city of Maſulipatnam, and at Yanam, a weaving town about 35 miles farther north. His officers proceeded without violence, plundered nothing, and ſealed up what they took poſſeſſion of. The detriment ſuſtained was not conſiderable; but Mr. Dupleix, appriſed of the defenceleſs condition of Maſulipatnam, determined to revenge it ten-fold, by attacking this city, which he had for ſome months conſidered as an acquiſition ſo neceſſary to his future views, that he had prevailed on Murzafa-jing upon his firſt arrival at Pondicherry to promiſe the ceſſion of it to the French company. Maſulipatnam is ſituated at the mouth of the river Kriſtna, which bounds the coaſt of Coromandel, and the ancient Carnatic to the north: it is the ſea-port of Gol-condah and the weſtern countries in that part of the peninſula, with which it has communication by the river Kriſtna, and by ſeveral high roads: it was formerly the greateſt mart, and one of the moſt opulent and populous cities of Indoſtan; inſomuch that ſeveral modern authors, firſt blundering in the acceptation and orthography of the termination Patnam, which

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1750. signifies a town; and then forming conjectures on the reputation of this place, have not hesitated to derive the whole Pitan nation, but also a race of kings at Delhi, from a colony of Arabians, who, about 400 years ago, as they say, founded Masulipatnam. The city is even at this day a place of considerable trade and resort, and famous for its manufactures of painted cloths; for the plants from which the dies are extracted grow no where in such perfection as in the adjacent territory. In the beginning of July a detachment of 200 Europeans and 300 Sepoys, together with several pieces of battering cannon and a quantity of military stores, were put on board two large ships, which, after a passage of three days, anchored in the road. The troops landed in the night, and attacking the city by surprize, took it with very little loss. They kept possession of it, and immediately began to put it into a better posture of defence.

In the mean time the French battalion had, soon after the retreat of the Soubah's army, formed their camp, as if in defiance of his authority, on the limits of the new territory ceded by Murzafa-jing to the French company; but this insult produced no effect on the mind of Nazir-jing, who deeming the imprisonment of his nephew a sufficient security against any farther commotions, indulged the bent of his nature, and gave his whole time to the pleasures of women, and hunting: but although he gave no application to business, he decided peremptorily on the affairs which his ministers reported to him; and his orders, howsoever absurd, were irrevocable: his caprices disgusted his friends, and his indolence rendered him contemptible to his enemies. The Pitan Nabobs insinuated themselves into his favour, by encouraging him in his vices, and at the same time advised Mr. Dupleix to proceed to action.

Mr. Dupleix followed their advice, and ordered 500 Europeans to attack the pagoda of Trivadi, lying about fifteen miles to the west of Fort St. David. The pagoda served as a citadel to a large *pettah*, by which name the people on the coast of Coromandel call every town contiguous to a fortress. Trivadi made no resistance, and the French having garrisoned it with 50 Europeans and 100 Sepoys, began to collect the revenues of the district. This acquisition carried them to the south of the river Pannar; and Mahomed-ally concluding

1750. that they would not hesitate to push their conquests still farther, requested Nazir-jing to permit him to take the field, and defend the territories of which he had created him lord, alledging that the English, for the sake of their own interests, would join his troops with their whole force. Nazir-jing was so exasperated against the English for having refused to accompany him to Arcot, that it was some time before he could be prevailed on to suffer his vassal to ask their assistance: at length however he consented, but without giving his own name as a sanction. The English, assured by Mahomed-ally that he would punctually defray all expences, ordered a body of 400 Europeans and 1500 Sepoys to take the field, and the Nabob marched from Arcot with an army of 20,000 men, of which more than one half were the troops of Nazir-jing; but not thinking even this force sufficient to pass through the countries near Pondicherry, before it was reinforced by the English troops, he encamped and waited for them near Gingee, where they joined them in the beginning of July.

The army then moved towards Fort St. David, and encamped on the plain of Trivandaparum, waiting for two 24 pounders and military stores. As soon as these arrived, they marched on the 19th of July towards the French, whom they discovered in the evening about eight miles to the east of Trivadi, near the northern bank of the Pannar, which river was at this time fordable. The army halted on the south side of the river, and a large body of Sepoys, with the company of Caffres, were detached to attack the enemy's advanced posts, and to reconnoitre the situation of their camp. A skirmish ensued which lasted until night, when the detachment was recalled. They reported, that the enemy's camp was in a grove, enclosed by strong entrenchments, mounted with ten pieces of cannon. In order to draw them from this situation, captain Cope persuaded the Nabob to march against Trivadi; and the army appeared before the place the next day, and summoned the garrison, who refused to surrender. Captain Cope therefore proposed to the Nabob to order his troops to scale the walls, and make a general assault, whilst the English battered down the gates. The Nabob consented, but his troops refused to undertake so perilous an attempt; the army therefore marched back the next morning towards the French encampment, and halting, formed for battle

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within gun-shot of their entrenchments. The commander of the French troops sent a messenger to ask the reason why the English came so near their posts, and declared that if they did not immediately march away, he should in his own defence be obliged to fire upon them. Captain Cope replied, that the English acting as allies to the Nabob, were determined to accompany him into all parts of his dominions, and to assist him against all who should oppose his authority. The messenger was scarcely returned when a shot from the French entrenchment killed some of the English soldiers. It was answered from the two 18 pounders and four field pieces; and a cannonade ensued, which lasted from noon till night, when the English quitted their ground with the loss of 10 Europeans and 50 Sepoys, and 200 of the Nabob's troops were likewise killed: the French secured by their entrenchments, suffered much less. This ill success depressed Mahomed-ally as much as if the army had suffered a total defeat, and rendering him anxious to remove out of the neighbourhood of the enemy, he proposed to march to the west, pretending that his army could not subsist in their present situation, since all their provisions coming from Arcot, and the inland parts of the province, would be exposed to the French stations at Gingee, Valdore, and Trivadi. By accompanying the Nabob the English would have been of no other service than that of shewing him to the province in parade at the head of an army: but this, ridiculous as it may appear, was the very service he preferred to all others; since it would have produced not only the homage of the renters and farmers of the country, but likewise some money by the presents he would have obliged them to make. On the other hand, captain Cope was instructed not to march beyond any of the French posts, lest his communication with Fort St. David should be cut off; and he was likewise ordered to endeavour by all means to bring the enemy to an engagement: he therefore insisted with the Nabob that the army should place themselves between the French camp and Pondicherry. There were no means of reconciling two opinions so directly opposite; and this disagreement indisposed the Nabob so much towards his allies, that when they demanded the money promised for their expences, he first made excuses, and at last declared he had none; having, as he said, exhausted

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1750. exhausted his treasury by giving Nazir-jing two millions of rupees, Major Lawrence, who now commanded at Fort St. David, not only as the first military officer, but also as temporary governor of the settlement, was as much offended by these prevarications of Mahomed-ally as he had been by those of Nazir-jing, and with the same spirit of indignation which had dictated to him the resolution of quitting the Soubah, ordered the troops to leave the Nabob, and march back to Fort St. David, where they arrived the 19th of August.

As soon as they retreated, Mr. Dupleix ordered the main body at Valdore to march and join the camp near Trivadi: the whole force, when united, consisted of 1800 Europeans, 2500 Sepoys, and 1000 horse, levied by Chunda-saheb, together with twelve field pieces. The army of Mahomed-ally consisted of 5000 foot and 15000 horse, variously armed: his camp extended between two villages which secured the flanks; the rear was defended by a river; in front were several entrenchments occupied by the infantry; and in the other intervals, where there were no entrenchments, cannon were planted; the cavalry, instead of being out on the plain, formed a second line within the camp. On the 21st of August the French advanced to attack this absurd disposition: their field pieces were distributed in front; the baggage-carts were ranged in a regular line in the rear, and the cavalry were on each wing: they made several halts, during which they gave a general discharge of their artillery, which was answered by the enemy's cannon and musketry, not a shot of which did execution; but a rocket, which the Moors make use of to frighten cavalry, set fire to a tumbril, and this blowing up, wounded some of the Sepoys. As soon as the French troops were within 200 yards of the camp, they marched up briskly to the entrenchments, which the Nabob's troops immediately abandoned, and at the same time deserted the cannon. The French having entered the camp, formed again, brought up their artillery, and began to fire upon the cavalry, who were soon flung into confusion. The rout became general, and horse and foot fled promiscuously and with such precipitation, that many pushed directly into the river, where they were drowned. They continued to fire upon the fugitives whilst any remained in the camp, and killed near a thousand men: the Nabob himself made his escape

REFERENCES.

A. The great Mountain of Gingee on the Top of which is a small Fort situated on an entire Rock & tenable with 10 Men against any open force which can be brought against it. There is very fine Water in a cleft of the Rock.

B. St. Georges Mountain.

C. The English Mountain.

D. The Royal Battery.

E. The Pettah of Gingee.

a. Gate of the Second Wall } leading to the Great Mountain

b. Gate of the Third Wall }

c. Gate of the Fourth Wall }

d. Gate leading to Ternamaley.

e. Pondicherry Gate.

f. Port du diable or Devils Gate.

g. Devils Tank.

hhhh. Barracks and lodgings of the French Garrison.

i. A Pagoda for Travelling Bramins.

Scale of Yards

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escape with great difficulty, and hurried away to Arcot, were he arrived with only two or three attendants. This victory was obtained by the French without the loss of a man, and none were even wounded, excepting those who suffered by the explosion of the tumbril. 1750.

Even this success of their arms was not sufficient to rouze Nazir-jing out of the luxurious indolence in which he passed his time at Arcot: Mr. Dupleix resolved to avail himself of his inactivity, and of the general consternation which the defeat of Mahomed-ally had caused in the neighbouring countries, and immediately ordered his army to march and attack Gingee. This place was formerly the residence of a race of Morattoe kings, whose dominions extended from hence to the borders of the kingdom of Tanjore: these princes were the ancestors of the famous Sevagee, who became king over all the Morattoe nations; and it has long been a general, although erroneous notion, that Sevagee himself was born at Gingee. The fortifications, as well as those of Velore, bear the marks of the military character of the nation to which they belonged. A strong wall flanked with towers, and extending near three miles, incloses three mountains, which form nearly an equilateral triangle; they are steep and craggy, and on the top of each are built large and strong forts; besides, there are many other fortifications upon the declivities: on the plain between the three mountains is a large town. The Indians, who esteem no fortifications very strong, unless placed upon high and difficult eminences, have always regarded Gingee as the strongest fortress in the Carnatic.

A detachment of 250 Europeans, 1200 Sepoys, with four field pieces, commanded by Mr. Bussy, set out before the rest of the army, and advanced by slow marches, intending, it is probable, to attack the place by surprize; and the main body, commanded by Mr. d'Auteuil, followed at the distance of a forced march. When in sight of Gingee, Mr. Bussy found that 5000 of the fugitives from the defeat at Trivadi had taken refuge here, and were encamped under the walls, with some pieces of artillery managed by Europeans. He therefore waited till the main body came in sight, and then advanced and attacked these troops, who made very little resistance, and quitted the field as soon as Mr. d'Auteuil came up. The French took their artillery,

1750. tillery, and killed moſt of the Europeans who ſerved it. They then proceeded to petard one of the gates of the outer wall on the plain, and got poſſeſſion of it a little before night, with the loſs of only three or four men, and the troops with all the artillery and baggage entered the town; where they immediately fortified themſelves by barricading the narrow ſtreets with the baggage-waggons, and by diſtributing the cannon in the larger avenues. In this ſituation they were expoſed to a continual fire from the three mountains: the Moors likewiſe threw great numbers of rockets, in hopes of ſetting fire to the combuſtible ſtores. The French bombarded the forts with mortars, and fired upon them with artillery until the moon ſet, which was the ſignal to ſtorm the fortifications on the mountains. None but the Europeans were deſtined to this hardy enterprize, who attacked all the three mountains at the ſame time, and found on each redoubts above redoubts, which they carried ſucceſſively ſword in hand, until they came to the ſummits, where the fortifications were ſtronger than thoſe they had ſurmounted; they nevertheleſs puſhed on and petarded the gates, and by day-break were in poſſeſſion of them all, having loſt only twenty men in the different attacks. On contemplating the difficulties they had conquered, they were aſtoniſhed at the rapidity of their own ſucceſs, and the extreme puſillanimity of the defenders; and indeed, had the attack been made in day-light, it could not have ſucceeded; for the Moors, as well as Indians, often defend themſelves very obſtinately behind ſtrong walls; but it ſhould ſeem that no advantages, either of number or ſituation, can countervail the terror with which they are ſtruck when attacked in the night.

The great reputation of the ſtrength of Gingee naturally exalted the fame of the French prowеſs; and the loſs of this important fortreſs awakened Nazir-jing, and made him at laſt recollect that it was time to oppoſe the progreſs of an enemy who ſeemed capable of the boldeſt enterprizes. On his arrival at Arcot, he had ſent back to Gol-condah two of his generals, with the greateſt part of the troops in his own pay, and had likewiſe permitted many of the Rajahs and Indian chiefs to return home with their troops. He now recalled all theſe forces; but hoping that the news of theſe preparations, with offers of moderate advantages, would induce the French to lay down their arms, he determined

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to try the effect of negociation before he took the field, and sent two of his officers to Pondicherry, to treat with Mr. Dupleix: who now not only insisted on the restoration of Murzafa-jing to his liberty and estates, together with the appointment of Chunda-saheb in the Carnatic; but required also, that the city of Masulipatnam, with its dependencies, should be given up to the French company, and that their troops should keep possession of Gingee until Nazir-jing returned to Aureng-abad. 1750.

He scarcely expected that Nazir-jing would agree to these imperious terms, and by proposing them had no other intention than to provoke him to take the field, for it was in the field alone that the projects he had formed against him could be carried into execution. His expectation was not disappointed, for Nazir-jing immediately ordered his troops to march towards Gingee, and in the latter end of September joined them himself. His army was now much less numerous than when he entered the Carnatic; for very few of the chiefs who had been permitted to return to their own countries rejoined his standard, and the troops which he had sent to Gol-condah were at too great a distance to march back into the province of Arcot before the rainy season. His camp however consisted of 60,000 foot, 45,000 horse, 700 elephants, and 360 pieces of cannon, and with the attendants, who in an Indian army always out-number the regular troops, contained a multitude little less than 300,000 men. This great body moved very slowly, and employed fifteen days in marching thirty miles; and when at the distance of sixteen from Gingee, were prevented from getting any farther by the rains, which setting in with great violence, overflowed the whole country. The notion of exposing the standard of the empire to disgrace, by appearing to retreat, prevented Nazir-jing from returning immediately to Arcot, and in two or three days his army was inclosed between two rivers, which were rendered almost impassable by the inundation. The communication with the neighbouring countries grew every day more difficult, provisions became scarce, and the army suffering likewise from the inclemency of the weather, sickness began to spread in the camp, and these distresses were likely to continue until the return of fair weather in December. The wavering temper of Nazir-

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1750. jing grew impatient at these unexpected impediments, which protracted a war, in which he had already wasted a year, absent from the rest of the vast estates of his soubahship; and growing on a sudden as anxious to quit the Carnatic as he had hitherto been fond of remaining in it, he renewed his correspondence with Mr. Dupleix; and to avoid the disgrace of seeing the French maintain their pretensions in hostile defiance of his authority, he determined at last to give his patents for all the cessions they demanded, on condition that they should hold them as his vassals.

Mr. Dupleix, who well knew the little faith to be reposed in any engagements or professions made by the princes of Indostan, neither suffered the offers of Nazir-jing to slacken his machinations with the discontented confederates in the army, nor his reliance on these to interrupt his negociation with their sovereign. It was now the month of December, the rains were ceased, and the important moment was at hand, when it was absolutely necessary to make the option between two very different methods of accomplishing his views.

His correspondence with the Pitan Nabobs had been carried on seven months, and they had engaged in their conspiracy above twenty other officers of principal note; so that all together the confederates commanded one half of Nazir-jing's army: they represented, that if it was wonderful the secret had been so long kept by so many, every hour's delay now teemed with infinite risques, since, in order to make the dispositions necessary to insure the success of the enterprize, they were obliged every day to communicate to numbers of subaltern officers a secret, which, at the time of execution, must be known to all their troops.

At the same time came deputies from Nazir-jing to Pondicherry, who confidently affirmed that he would immediately sign the treaty, break up his camp, and march out of the Carnatic.

Assured of success by either of these events, Mr. Dupleix left chance to decide which should take place, and pressing Nazir-jing's deputies to produce the treaty ratified, he at the same time ordered the commander of the French troops at Gingee to march the very instant that the confederates should signify to him that every thing was prepared to carry the long-meditated scheme into execution.

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The ſummons from the Pitan Nabobs arrived at Gingee before the ratification of the treaty at Pondicherry. 1750.

It was on the 4th of December that Mr. de la Touche, who now commanded the troops, began his march from Gingee with 800 Europeans, 3000 Sepoys, and ten field pieces. Some hints were given ſufficient to inſpire the ſoldiers with confidence, but Mr. de la Touche communicated the whole plan only to Mr. Buſſy and three or four of the principal officers. A guide ſent by the confederates conducted the army towards the quarter where the troops immediately commanded by Nazir-jing encamped, which, after a march of ſixteen miles, the French came in ſight of at four o'clock the next morning. The whole camp extended eighteen miles, every Nabob and Rajah having a ſeparate quarter. Some cavalry going the rounds diſcovered the French battalion, and alarmed the advanced poſts, which were very ſoon diſperſed: the French then came up to the line of Nazir-jing's artillery, behind which were drawn up 25,000 foot. Here the conflict became ſharper; for the firſt firing having ſpread the alarm, moſt of the generals devoted to Nazir-jing ſent their troops to the place of action; ſo that one body was no ſooner repulſed than another ſucceeded, and even many of the fugitives rallied, and formed again in their rear. The French never experienced with more ſucceſs the advantage of field pieces managed with the dexterity of quick firing; for this alone preſerved the troops in many a repeated charge from being broken by the cavalry. Thus ſurrounded, they gained their way very ſlowly, and after paſſing the line of cannon, were three hours advancing three miles into the camp. They had already diſperſed one half of the army, when they deſcried at ſome diſtance a vaſt body of horſe and foot drawn up in order, which extended as far as the eye could reach; and the French troops were on the point of loſing courage at the idea of having this formidable hoſt ſtill to encounter, when they perceived in the center of it an elephant bearing a large white flag. This was the ſignal of the confederates: it was immediately known by Mr. de la Touche, and explained to the troops, who expreſſed their joy by repeated ſhouts: they were ordered to halt, until ſome intelligence ſhould be received from the Pitan Nabobs, whoſe enſigns were now diſcerned approaching.

1750. Nazir-jing, who had the day before ratified his treaty with Mr. Dupleix, and ſent it to Pondicherry, gave no credit to thoſe who firſt reported to him that his camp was attacked by the French troops: when convinced of it, the majeſtic ideas in which he had been educated, together with ſome degree of natural courage, did not ſuffer him to apprehend any danger from ſuch a handful of men, and calling their attack "the mad attempt of a parcel of drunken Europeans," he ordered the officers who were near him to go and cut them to pieces, and at the ſame time ordered the head of Murzafa-jing to be ſtruck off and brought to him. Meſſengers arrived every minute to inform him of the progreſs which the French troops were making; and on enquiring what diſpoſitions were made by the different Nabobs and chiefs who followed his ſtandard, he was told, that the troops of Cudapah, Canoul, Candanore, of Myſore, together with 20,000 of the Morattoes, were drawn up in order of battle, but had not yet advanced to repulſe the French. Enraged at this inaction of ſo large a part of his army, he mounted his elephant, and accompanied by his body-guard, advanced toward theſe troops; and the firſt he came to were thoſe of Cudapah, whoſe Nabob was at their head. Nazir-jing rode up to him, and told him, that he was a daſtardly coward, who dared not to defend the Mogul's ſtandard againſt the moſt contemptible of enemies. The traitor replied, that he knew no enemy but Nazir-jing, and at the ſame time gave the ſignal to a fuſileer, who rode with him on the ſame elephant, to fire. The ſhot miſſed, on which Cudapah himſelf diſcharged a carabine, which lodged two balls in the heart of the unfortunate Nazir-jing, who fell dead on the plain. His guards were ſtruck with ſo much diſmay at this ſudden aſſaſſination, that few of them attempted to revenge it, and theſe few were ſoon diſperſed, or cut down. The Nabob of Cudapah then ordered the head to be ſevered from the body, and haſted away with it to the tent of Murzafa-jing, concerning whoſe ſafety he had no anxiety; having engaged in the conſpiracy the officer to whoſe care the confinement of this prince had been entruſted: he found him freed from the fetters which he had now worn ſeven months, and hailing him Soubah of the Decan, preſented to him, as a confirmation of the

title,

title, the head of his uncle. Murzafa-jing ordered it to be fixed on a pole, and to be carried to the army of the confederates, whither he repaired himfelf attended by the Nabob. 1750.

The news was fpread through the confederate army with great rapidity by the elevation of fmall white banners: Mr. de la Touche difcovered thefe fignals very foon after he had ordered the French battalion to halt, and knew the meaning of them: a few minutes after came a horfeman at full fpeed, fent from Murzafa-jing; upon which Mr. Buffy was immediately difpatched to compliment him, and receive his orders. The death of Nazir-jing was no fooner known amongft his troops than the greateft part of them came in crowds to range themfelves under the banner of his fucceffor, and by nine o'clock in the morning every fword was fheathed, notwithftanding that three brothers of the murdered prince were in the camp. The new Soubah proceeded to the tent of ftate, where he received homage from moft of the great officers, who the day before had paid it to his uncle. But the prime minifter Shanavaze Khan was not of the number; he, dreading the refentment of Murzafa-jing, for having fuffered him to remain fo long in prifon, made his efcape to the fort of Chittapet: and Mahomed-ally, the open rival of Chunda-faheb, knew he had every thing to apprehend from this revolution: fortunately his quarters were at a confiderable diftance from the fcene of this cataftrophe; and the inftant he heard of it, he mounted the fleeteft of his horfes, and, accompanied only by two or three attendants, hafted with the utmoft precipitation to gain his fortrefs of Tritchinopoly.

In the evening, Mr. de la Touche, accompanied by all his officers, went in ceremony to pay his refpects to Murzafa-jing, by whom they were received with demonftrations of gratitude worthy the important fervice they had rendered him. The oriental compliments paid to them on this occafion, were, for once, not deftitute of truth; for, excepting the conquefts of Cortez and Pizarro in the new world, never did fo fmall a force decide the fate of fo large a fovereignty. The dominions of the Great Mogul confift of 22 provinces, fix of which, comprehending more than one third of the empire, compofe the

1750. the foubahfhip of the Decan; the viceroy of which divifion is, by a title ftill more emphatical than that of Soubah, ftiled, in the language of the court, Nizam-al-muluck, or regulator of the empire: his jurifdiction extends in a line nearly north and fouth, from Brampore to cape Comorin, and eaftward from that line to the fea. Golcondah, one of thefe provinces, comprehends what Europeans call the Nabobfhips of Arcot, Canoul, Cudapah, Raja-mandrum, and Chicacole; fo that there were under Nizam-al-muluck thirty fuch Nabobs, befides feveral powerful Indian kings, and many others of leffer note: the number of fubjects in the Decan probably exceeds thirty-five millions. Of this great dominion, Murzafa-jing, from a prifoner in irons, and condemned to death, faw himfelf in the revolution of a few hours declared almoft the abfolute lord, and with the profpect of maintaining poffeffion of it; for his pretenfions were highly fupported by the Vizir at Delhi: but the fun did not fet before the joy infpired by this fudden change of his fortunes was tainted with anxiety; for the Pitan Nabobs began to demand imperioufly the rewards they expected for the parts they had contributed to his elevation: their pretenfions were exorbitant, and even inconfiftent with the principles of the Mogul government. It is not to be doubted that Murzafa-jing had, during his imprifonment, promifed every thing they thought proper to afk, not intending to fulfil more than what the neceffity of his affairs fhould oblige him to; but the prefence of the French troops now rendered him little apprehenfive of their refentment, and to them alone he entrufted the guard of his perfon, and the care of his treafures: however, not to irritate the Nabobs, by an abfolute rejection of their claims, he told them that his engagements with the French nation would not permit him to determine any thing without the advice and participation of Mr. Dupleix, and encouraged them to hope that every thing would be fettled to their fatisfaction at Pondicherry.

Here the tidings of Nazir-jing's death, and of the enthronement of his nephew, arrived in the afternoon: it was firft brought to Chunda-faheb, who forgetting the ceremonies and attendance without which perfons of his rank never appear in public, quitted his houfe alone,

and ran to the palace, where he was the firſt who announced it to Mr. Dupleix. They embraced with the agitations of two friends eſcaped from a ſhipwreck: the news was proclaimed to the town by a general diſcharge of the artillery; and in the evening Mr. Dupleix held a court, and received the compliments of all the inhabitants. The next day a Te Deum was ſung in full ceremony, and three deputies were ſent to compliment Murzafa-jing: and two days afterwards another deputation carried ſix coſtly *Seerpaws*; theſe are garments which are preſented ſometimes by ſuperiors in token of protection, and ſometimes by inferiors in token of homage; and with the *Seerpaws* was carried a white flag on an elephant, which were likewiſe preſented. Murzafa-jing pretended to be ſo much pleaſed with the compliment of the flag, that he ordered it ſhould in future be always diſplayed in the midſt of the enſigns of his ſovereignty. 1750.

On the 15th of December at night he came to the gates with a numerous and ſplendid attendance, in which were moſt of the principal lords of his court: he was received by Mr. Dupleix and Chunda-ſaheb in a tent without the city; and diſcovered great emotions of joy in this interview. It was intended, in deference to his rank, that he ſhould have entered the town on his elephant; but the animal was too large to paſs under the beam to which the draw-bridge was ſuſpended; whereupon he politely deſired to go in the ſame palankin with Mr. Dupleix to the palace: here they had a private conference, in which he explained the difficulties he lay under from the pretenſions of the Pitan Nabobs, and afterwards retired to the houſe appointed for his reception, where he was expected with impatience by his mother, his wife, and his ſon.

The next day the three Pitan Nabobs came into the town, and deſired Mr. Dupleix to determine what rewards they ſhould receive for the ſervices they had rendered: they demanded, that the arrears of tribute, which they had not paid for three years, ſhould be remitted; that the countries which they governed, together with ſeveral augmentations of territory they now demanded, ſhould in future be exempted from tribute to the Mogul government; and that one half of

1750. of the riches found in Nazir-jing's treaſury ſhould be delivered to them.

It was known that all the lords of Murzafa-jing's court waited to meaſure their demands by the conceſſions which he ſhould make to the Pitan Nabobs: if theſe obtained all they aſked, the whole of his dominion would ſcarcely ſuffice to ſatisfy the other claimants in the ſame proportion; and, on the other hand, if they were not ſatisfied, it was much to be apprehended that they would revolt; Mr. Dupleix therefore poſtponed all other conſiderations to this important diſcuſſion, and conferred with the Pitans for ſeveral days ſucceſſively. He acknowledged the great obligations Murzafa-jing lay under to them for their conduct in the revolution; but inſiſted that he himſelf had contributed as much to it as they, and was therefore entitled to as great rewards, and that if ſuch conceſſions were extorted, the Soubah would no longer be able to maintain the dignity he had acquired: intending therefore to ſet the example of moderation, he, in the laſt conference, told them, that he ſhould relinquiſh his own pretenſions to any ſhare of the treaſures, or to any other advantages, which might diſtreſs the affairs of Murzafa-jing. The Pitans finding him determined to ſupport the cauſe of this prince at all events, agreed amongſt themſelves to appear ſatisfied with the terms he preſcribed: which were, that their governments ſhould be augmented by ſome diſtricts much leſs than thoſe they demanded; that their private revenues ſhould be increaſed by the addition of ſome lands belonging to the crown given to them in farm at low rates; and that the half of the money found in Nazir-jing's treaſury ſhould be divided amongſt them; but the jewels were reſerved to Murzafa-jing.

This agreement was ſigned by the Nabobs, who likewiſe took on the Alcoran an oath of allegiance to the Soubah; declaring at the ſame time that Nizam-al-muluck himſelf had never been able to obtain from them this mark of ſubmiſſion: and he on his part ſwore to protect them whilſt they remained faithful.

All diſſentions being now in appearence reconciled, feaſts and entertainments enſued, in which Mr. Dupleix ſpared no expence to raiſe in his gueſts a high opinion of the grandeur of his nation by the ſplendour with

with which he affected to repreſent his monarch. Amidſt theſe rejoicings was performed the ceremony of inſtalling the Soubah, in the throne of the Decan: it was very pompous; and Mr. Dupleix appeared, next to the Soubah, the principal actor in it; for in the dreſs of a Mahomedan lord of Indoſtan, with which the prince himſelf had clothed him, he was the firſt who paid homage; after which he was declared governor for the Mogul of all the countries lying to the ſouth of the river Kriſtna; that is, of a territory little leſs than France itſelf: he likewiſe received the title of *Munſub*, or commander, of 7000 horſe, with the permiſſion of bearing amongſt his enſigns that of the fiſh; neither of which diſtinctions is ever granted excepting to perſons of the firſt note in the empire: It was ordered, that no money ſhould be current in the Carnatic, but ſuch as was coined at Pondicherry; and that the Mogul's revenues from all the countries of which Mr. Dupleix was now appointed vicegerent ſhould be remitted to him, who was to account for them to the Soubah; and Chunda-ſaheb was declared Nabob of Arcot and its dependencies, under the authority of Mr. Dupleix. All the Mogul and Indian lords paid homage, and made preſents: penſions, titles of honour, and governments, were beſtowed on thoſe who had aſſiſted in the revolution, or had otherwiſe merited favour: but he granted none of theſe to any, excepting ſuch as preſented requeſts ſigned by the hand of Mr. Dupleix. 1750.

The immediate advantages ariſing to the French Eaſt India company by theſe conceſſions, were the poſſeſſion of a territory near Pondicherry producing annually 96,000 rupees; of that near Karical in the kingdom of Tanjore, valued at 106,000; and the city of Maſulipatnam with its dependencies, of which the yearly income amounted to 144,000 rupees; in all, a revenue of 38,000 pounds ſterling, according to the accounts publiſhed by the French, which there is reaſon to believe are greatly extenuated. But theſe advantages were ſmall in compariſon of thoſe which Mr. Dupleix expected to obtain from the extenſive authority with which he was now inveſted; and altho' not one of theſe grants could, according to the conſtitution of the Mogul empire, be of any validity, unleſs confirmed by the emperor, he, without ſcruple, aſſumed them as law-

1750. ful acquisitions: it is certain that, imperfect as they were, they served greatly to raise the reputation of his importance in the Carnatic, where the Soubah of the southern provinces is more respected than the Great Mogul himself. Even Mahomed-ally appeared to be confounded by these concessions; and from Tritchinopoly, to which place he had escaped with great difficulty, impowered the Morattoe, Raja Janogee, to treat with Mr. Dupleix for the surrender of the city, and offered, as the French affirm with great confidence in more than one memoir, to relinquish his pretensions to the Nabobship of Arcot, provided Murzafa-jing would give him some other government in the territory of Gol-condah, and leave him in possession of his treasures, without demanding any account of his father An'war-odean Khan's administration. Mr. Dupleix agreed to these terms, and imagined that they would very soon be carried into execution: so that nothing now retarded the departure of Murzafa-jing to Gol-condah and Aureng-abad, where his presence became every day more necessary. As the power of Mr. Dupleix depended on the preservation of this prince, whose government in a country subject to such sudden revolutions, probably would not be free from commotions, he proposed that a body of French troops should accompany him until he was firmly established in the soubahship; and from experience of the services they were capable of rendering, this offer was accepted without hesitation.

The treasures of Nazir-jing were computed at two millions sterling, and the jewels at 500,000 pounds: in the partition of this wealth, a provision for the private fortune of Mr. Dupleix was not neglected, notwithstanding the offer which he had made in the conference with the Pitan Nabobs to relinquish all pretensions to any such advantage by the revolution; for, besides many valuable jewels, it is said, that he received 200,000 pounds in money. Murzafa-jing gave 50,000 pounds to be divided among the officers and troops who had fought at the battle of Gingee, and paid 50,000 pounds more into the treasury of the French company, for the expences they had incurred in the war. The long experience of Shanavaze Khan in the administration of the Decan rendering his knowledge necessary

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to the instruction of a new regency, he was invited by Murzafa-jing to enter into his service, and came from Chittapet and made his submission. 1750.

Mr. Dupleix and Murzafa-jing separated with professions of mutual gratitude and attachment, and the army left the neighbourhood of Pondicherry on the 4th of January; the French detachment was commanded by Mr. Bussy, and consisted of 300 Europeans, and 2000 Sepoys, with ten field pieces. The march was continued without interruption until the end of the month, when they arrived in the territory of Cudapah, about sixty leagues from Pondicherry. There some straggling horsemen quarrelled with the inhabitants of a village, and, with the usual licentiousness of the cavalry of Indostan, set fire not only to that, but likewise to two or three other villages in the neighbourhood. The Nabob of Cudapah, pretending to be greatly exasperated by this outrage, ordered a body of his troops to revenge it, by attacking the rear-guard of Murzafa-jing's division. A skirmish ensued, and the troops of Cudapah, overpowered by numbers, retreated to their main body. Their attack, whether by chance or design is uncertain, had been directed against that part of the army which escorted the women; so that this defiance was aggravated by the most flagrant affront that the dignity of an Indian prince could receive: for the persons of women of rank are deemed sacred, even in war. Murzafa-jing no sooner heard of this insult, than he ordered his whole army to halt, put himself at the head of a large body of troops, and prepared to march against the Nabob of Cudapah. Mr. Bussy, who had been instructed to avoid, if possible, all occasions of committing hostilities in the rout to Gol-condah, interposed, and with much difficulty prevailed on him to suspend his resentment, until the Nabob should explain the reasons of his conduct. Messengers were sent both from Murzafa-jing and Mr. Bussy: to those of Murzafa-jing the Nabob of Cudapah answered, that he waited for their master sword in hand; but to Mr. Bussy he sent word, that he was ready to make submissions to the Soubah through his mediation. The difference of these answers stung this prince to the quick, and nothing could now stop him from proceeding to take

1750. instant revenge. He told Mr. Bussy, who still attempted to calm him, that every Pitan in his army was a traitor born; and in a very few minutes the truth of his assertion was confirmed: for his spies brought intelligence, that the troops of all the three Nabobs were drawn up together in battle-array; that they were posted to defend a defile which lay in the road of the army, and that several posts leading to the defile were defended by cannon, which had been brought thither some days before. These preparations left no doubt that the rebellion of the Nabobs was premeditated; and indeed they had began to concert it from the very hour that they had taken the oath of allegiance in Pondicherry. Murzafa-jing, in full march at the head of his cavalry, grew impatient of the slow pace of the French battalion, and hurried away to attack the rebels without their assistance. The Pitan Nabobs had in their service many of their own countrymen, who, although much inferior in number, stood the shock with great intrepidity, and had even repulsed his troops before Mr. Bussy came up. The fire of the French artillery, after a severe slaughter, changed the fortune of the day, and obliged the Pitans to retreat; when Murzafa-jing, irritated by the repulse he had sustained, rallied his troops, and heedless of the remonstrances of Mr. Bussy, pursued the fugitives, and left once more the French battalion behind, who endeavoured to keep in sight of him, but in vain: they soon after came up to some of his troops, who were cutting to pieces the body of the Nabob of Savanore dead on the ground. The Nabob of Cudapah had fled out of the field desperately wounded, and in pursuing him, Murzafa-jing came up with the Nabob of Canoul, who finding he could not escape, turned with the handful of troops that surrounded him, and pushed on towards the elephant of his enemy. Exasperated by this defiance, the young prince made a sign to his troops to leave the person of the Nabob to be attacked by himself. The two elephants were driven up close to each other, and Murzafa-jing had his sword uplifted to strike, when his antagonist thrusting his javelin, drove the point through his forehead into the brain; he fell back dead: a thousand arms were aimed at the Nabob, who was in the same instant

instant mortally wounded; and the troops, not satisfied with this atonement, fell with fury on those of the Nabob, whom they soon overpowered, and cut to pieces. The French battalion was preparing to hail them returning from the field with acclamations of victory, when the news of Murzafa-jing's fate struck them with the deepest consternation. They immediately marched back to the camp, which they found in the utmost confusion; for large arrears of pay were due to the army; and it was to be apprehended that the soldiery would mutiny and plunder, and every general suspected all the others of sinister intentions. 1750.

But this disaster affected no interest more severely than that of the French; for by it were annihilated all the advantages which were gained by the murder of Nazir-jing: and Mr. Bussy was left without pretensions to interfere any farther in the concerns of the Decan. This officer saw all the desperate consequences of his present situation without losing his presence of mind: he assembled the generals and ministers, and found them as ready as himself to admit of any expedient by which the loss of their sovereign might be repaired. Besides the son of Murzafa-jing, an infant, there were in the camp three brothers of Nazir-jing, whom that prince had brought into the Carnatic under strict confinement, to prevent their engaging in revolts during his absence; and after his death they were continued under the same restraint by Murzafa-jing. Mr. Bussy proposed, that the vacant dignity of Soubah should be conferred on the eldest of the brothers, by name Salabat-jing; and the generals, from a sense of the convulsions to which the reign of a minor would be exposed, readily acquiesced to the exclusion of Murzafa-jing's son, and unanimously approved of Mr. Bussy's advice. It was immediately carried into execution, the three princes were released from their confinement, and Salabat-jing was proclaimed Soubah of the Decan, with the universal consent of the army. His elevation, and the signal catastrophe of this day, in which three of the conspirators of Nazir-jing's death fell in battle fighting against each other, were regarded as a retribution of the divine justice.

Mr.

1750. Mr. Bussy immediately advised Mr. Dupleix of this revolution, and of the dispositions which he had made in favour of Salabat-jing, who agreed to confirm all the cessions made by his predecessor, and to give still greater advantages to the French nation. On these conditions, Mr. Dupleix acknowledged his right to the Soubahship, with as much ardor as he had asserted that of Murzafa-jing; and as soon as this approbation was received, the army left the country of Cudapah, and continued its march to Gol-condah.

END *of the* SECOND BOOK.

BOOK III.

THE nations of Coromandel, accuſtomed to ſee Europeans aſſuming no other character than that of merchants, and paying as much homage to the Mogul government as was exacted from themſelves, were aſtoniſhed at the rapid progreſs of the French arms, and beheld with admiration the abilities of Mr. Dupleix, who had ſhewn himſelf at once as great an adept in the politics of Indoſtan, as if he had been educated a Mahomedan lord at the court of Delhi: knowing the rivalſhip which exiſted between the two nations, they were equally ſurprized at the indolence of the Engliſh, who, ſince the retreat of their troops from Mahomed-ally at Trivadi, had taken no meaſures to interrupt the progreſs of his ſchemes; and indeed this inactivity, at ſo critical a conjuncture, is difficult to be accounted for, unleſs it be imputed to their dread of engaging, without authority from England, in open hoſtilities againſt the French immediately after the concluſion of a general peace in Europe. Whatever might be the motives, their diſpoſition to remain in peace was ſo great, that major Lawrence himſelf, who commanded the troops, and had great influence in their councils, left Fort St. David on ſome private concerns, and ſailed for England in the month of October. The aſſaſſination of Nazir-jing and its conſequences overwhelmed them with aſtoniſhment, and made them ſenſible, when too late, of the errors they had committed in not continuing a body of their troops with the army of that prince. There remained, even after his death, a means of ſnatching from the conquerors their laurels, and the fruits of their victory; for Murzafa-jing, 1751.

1751. jing, with his uncle's treasures, moved from Gingee with only a detachment of his own army and 300 of the French troops, who marching without apprehension of danger, observed little military order: Mr. Benjamin Robins, at that time just arrived from England to superintend the company's fortifications as engineer-general, proposed to the governor, Mr. Saunders, that 800 Europeans should march out and attack them in their return: discovering in this advice the same sagacity which had distinguished his speculations in the abstruser sciences, and which renders his name an honour to our country; for there is the greatest probability that the attack, if well conducted, would have succeeded, and the treasures of Nazir-jing have been carried to Fort St. David, instead of Pondicherry. Mr. Saunders much approved the project, but when captain Cope, the commander of the troops, proposed it to the officers, they unanimously declared it rash and impracticable.

Mahomed-ally, still more perplexed and dispirited than the English, had no hopes of preservation but in their assistance, which he pressingly solicited at the same time that he was capitulating with Mr. Dupleix for the surrender of Tritchinopoly: and the English, apprehensive of the conclusion of such a treaty, which would have left them without any pretence to oppose Mr. Dupleix and Chunda-saheb, at last took the resolution of sending once more to Tritchinopoly a detachment to encourage Mahomed-ally to defend the city; it consisted of 280 Europeans, with 300 Sepoys, who arrived there under the command of captain Cope in the beginning of February.

About the same time Chunda-saheb marched from Pondicherry with an army of 8000 men, horse and foot, which he had levied in the province, joined by a battalion of 800 Europeans; and with this force proceeded to Arcot, where he received homage as Nabob; and there was scarce a strong hold to the north of the river Coleroon of which the governor did not acknowledge his sovereignty. Mortiz-ally of Velore, who had temporized, and affected obedience to Nazir-jing from the time that prince entered the Carnatic, immediately after his death reassumed his connexion with his relation Chunda-saheb, and was the first to reacknowledge him; and his example determined most of the other chiefs.

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The countries lying between the Coleroon and the extremity of the peninſula did not openly throw off their allegiance to Mahomed-ally, but were lukewarm in his intereſts: he therefore ſent 2500 horſe, and 3000 Peans, under the command of his brother Abdul-rahim, together with a detachment of 30 Europeans, to ſettle the government of Tinivelly, a city lying 160 miles to the ſouth of Tritchinopoly, and capital of a territory which extends to cape Comorin. Abdul-rahim met with no reſiſtance from the people of the country, but found it difficult to reſtrain his troops from revolt; for moſt of the officers being renters, were indebted to their prince as much as he was indebted to their ſoldiers, and expected as the price of their defection that Chunda-ſaheb would not only remit what they owed to the government, but likewiſe furniſh money for the pay of their troops. However, great promiſes, and the vigilance of lieutenant Innis, who commanded the Engliſh detachment, prevented them from carrying their ſchemes into execution; but the ſame ſpirit of revolt manifeſted itſelf more openly in another part of Mahomed-ally's dominions. 1751.

Allum Khan, a ſoldier of fortune, who had formerly been in the ſervice of Chunda-ſaheb, and afterwards in that of the king of Tanjore, had lately left this prince and came to Madura, where his reputation as an excellent officer ſoon gained him influence and reſpect, which he employed to corrupt the garriſon, and ſucceeded ſo well, that the troops created him governor, and conſented to maintain the city under his authority for Chunda-ſaheb, whom he acknowledged as his ſovereign.

The country of Madura lies between thoſe of Tritchinopoly and Tinivelly, and is as extenſive as either of them. The city was in ancient times the reſidence of a prince who was ſovereign of all the three. Its form is nearly a ſquare 4000 yards in circumference, fortified with a double wall and a ditch. The loſs of this place, by cutting off the communication between Tritchinopoly and the countries of Tinivelly, deprived Mahomed-ally of more than one half of the dominions which at this time remained under his juriſdiction. On receiving the news, captain Cope offered his ſervice to retake it. His detachment was ill equipped for a ſiege, for they had brought no battering cannon from Fort St. David, and there were but two

1751. ſerviceable pieces in the city: with one of theſe, three field pieces, two cohorns, and 150 Europeans, he marched away, accompanied by 600 of the Nabob's cavalry, commanded by another of his brothers Abdul-wahab Khan; and on the day that they arrived in ſight of Madura, they were joined by the army returning from Tinivelly. There were ſeveral large breaches in the outward wall; the gun fired through one of them on the inward wall, and in two days demoliſhed a part of it, although not ſufficient to make the breach acceſſible without the help of faſcines. Difficult as it was, it was neceſſary either to ſtorm it immediately, or to relinquiſh the ſiege, for all the ſhot of the great gun were expended. The Sepoys, encouraged by a diſtribution of ſome money, and a promiſe of much more if the place ſhould be taken, went to the attack with as much ſpirit as the Europeans. The firſt wall was paſſed without reſiſtance, and at the foot of the breach in the ſecond appeared three champions, one of them a very bulky man in compleat armour, who fought manfully with their ſwords, and wounded ſeveral of the forlorn hope, but were at laſt with difficulty killed. Whilſt the troops were mounting the breach, they were ſeverely annoyed by arrows, ſtones, and the fire of matchlocks; notwithſtanding which they gained the parapet, where the enemy had on each ſide of the entrance raiſed a mound of earth, on which they had laid horizontally ſome palm trees ſeparated from each other, and through theſe intervals they thruſt their pikes. At the bottom of the rampart within the wall, they had made a ſtrong retrenchment, with a ditch; and three or four thouſand men appeared ready to defend this work with all kinds of arms. The troops, wounded by the pikes as faſt as they mounted, were not able to keep poſſeſſion of the parapet, and after fighting until ninety men were diſabled, relinquiſhed the attack. Four Europeans were killed: the Sepoys ſuffered more, and four of their captains were deſperately wounded. The next day captain Cope prepared to return to Tritchinopoly, and blew the cannon to pieces, for want of means to carry it away. The troops of Mahomed-ally, encouraged by this repulſe, no longer concealed their diſaffection, and 500 horſe, with 1000 Peons, went over to Allum Khan before the Engliſh broke up their camp, and two or three days after near 2000 more horſemen

deserted likewise to the enemy. At the same time that the army and dominions of Mahomed-ally were thus reduced, he received advice that Chunda-saheb was preparing to march from Arcot to besiege Tritchinopoly; he now more strenuously represented his distresses to the presidency of Fort St. David, offering to give the company a territory of considerable revenue contiguous to the bounds of Madrass, and promising likewise to defray all the expences of their assistance. 1751.

It was the time of harvest, which on the coast of Coromandel is divided equally between the lord of the land and the cultivator; and Mr. Dupleix affected to distinguish his new acquisitions, by ordering small white flags to be planted almost in every field to which he laid claim: these flags were seen from Fort St. David extending round the bounds, and some of them were even planted within the company's territory: the insolence of these marks of sovereignty stung the English, and rouzed them from their lethargy: they concluded that Mr. Dupleix, from the same spirit of dominion, would not fail to impose extravagant duties on their trade passing through the countries of which he had taken possession; and this reflection convincing them that their own ruin would be blended with that of Mahomed-ally, they determined to accept the offers he made, and to support his cause to the utmost of their power.

In the beginning of April a body of 500 Europeans, of which 50 were cavalry, and 100 Caffres, 1000 Sepoys, with eight field pieces, took the field under the command of captain Gingen, who was ordered to remain near Fort St. David until he should be joined by Mahomed-ally's troops from Tritchinopoly: for the English were determined not to appear as principals in the war. After waiting six weeks, captain Gingen was joined by 600 horse and 1000 Peons; he then proceeded to the westward, and came in sight of Verdachelum, a large and strong pagoda garrisoned by 300 of Chunda-saheb's troops: this place is situated 40 miles from the coast, and commands the high road; the reduction of it was therefore necessary to preserve the communication with Fort St. David: the garrison were summoned by the Nabob's officer to deliver up

1751. the place: they refused, and mann'd the walls. The English troops, under cover of a bank, fired at them for some hours, but finding that this attack made little impression, they prepared towards evening to make a general assault, when the sight of the scaling ladders induced the governor to surrender. Leaving a garrison of twenty Europeans and fifty Sepoys in the pagoda, they continued their march to the westward, and were soon after joined by 100 Europeans detached by captain Cope from Tritchinopoly, and 2000 horse, with 2000 foot, the remainder of the Nabob's troops, under the command of his brother Abdul-wahab Khan.

The army, after this junction came in sight of that of Chunda-saheb, which lay encamped in the neighbourhood of Vol-condah. This is a very strong fortress, 90 miles from the coast, situated in the great road between Arcot and Tritchinopoly: its principal defence is a rock 200 feet high, and about a mile in circumference at the bottom, where it is inclosed by a high and strong wall, mostly cut out of the solid rock; near the summit it is enclosed by another wall, and the summit itself is surrounded by a third: adjoining to the eastern side of the rock, on the plain, is a fort built of stone, contiguous to which lies a town slenderly fortified with a mud wall. The river Val-aru, after running due east, forms an angle about a mile to the north of Vol-condah, where it turns to the south, and in this direction passes close by the western side of the rock, and winding round it, reassumes its course to the eastward along the southern side of the fort and town. Captain Gingen encamped in a large grove about a mile and a half to the southwest of Vol-condah: and in this situation the advanced guards were in sight of those of Chunda-saheb, whose camp lay about four miles to the north of that part of the river which runs east before it strikes to the south. Here he had been some days endeavouring to persuade the governor to put him in possession of the fort; and Abdul-wahab Khan, equally sensible of the importance of the place, made offers likewise to induce him to deliver it up to Mahomed-ally. The man knowing the advantage of his post, had given evasive answers to Chunda-saheb; and replied to Abdul-wahab Khan, that he waited to see a battle before he gave

up

up his fort to either; but neverthelefs he entered into a negociation with both, which lafted a fortnight, and during this time neither of the armies made any motion: at length captain Gingen, irritated by his prevarications, determined to treat him as an enemy; but before he proceeded to hoftilities, pofted the army about a mile to the north-weft of the rock of Vol-condah, where they were in readinefs to intercept the approach of Chunda-faheb; for it was not doubted that the governor would call him to his affiftance, as foon as he fhould be attacked. This difpofition being made, a large detachment of Europeans and Sepoys marched about nine in the evening, who eafily got over the mud-wall, and then fetting fire to the town, advanced to the ftone fort; but this they found too ftrong to be affaulted before a breach was made, and therefore returned to the camp. The governor, as was forefeen, immediately fent a meffenger to acquaint Chunda-faheb that he was ready to admit his troops into the place. 1751.

The next morning, at break of day, the French battalion was difcovered marching towards the rock along the bed of the river, which was almoft dry; and the Indian army of Chunda-faheb, which had been augmented at Arcot to 12000 horfe and 5000 Sepoys, appeared at the fame time. Notwithftanding thefe motions, the Englifh officers wafted fo much time in deliberation, that the French battalion arrived near the foot of the rock, and formed before any attempt was made to intercept them; when too late, it was determined to give the enemy battle. The troops had perceived the hefitations of the council of war, and were fo much affected by them that they marched to the enemy with irrefolution. As they approached, a cannonade enfued, and a fhot ftruck one of the French tumbrils, which blowing up wounded fome of their Europeans, and frightened fo much a hundred more, who were pofted near it, that they ran away with Mr. d'Auteuil at their head to the fort of Vol-condah, where they were admitted; and from hence they immediately began to fire from 14 pieces of cannon upon the Englifh battalion. This unexpected cannonade, notwithftanding that moft of their fhot flew too high, flung the troops into diforder, and fome of the officers likewife difcovering fear, the whole battalion were feized with a

4 panic.

1751. panic. The captains Gingen, Dalton, Kilpatrick, and lieutenant Clive, endeavoured to rally them, but in vain; for they retreated in great confusion, without stopping until they reached the camp. Abdul-wahab Khan rode up and upbraided them in the strongest terms for their cowardice, bidding them take example from his own troops, who still stood their ground: and to compleat the shame of this day, the company of Caffres remained likewise on the field for some time, and then marched off in good order, bringing away the dead and wounded. Had they behaved with common resolution, the enemy would probably have been defeated; for Abdul-wahab Khan had prevailed on one of their generals, who commanded 4000 horse, to come over to him on the field of battle, which body was observed to separate from the rest as the enemy approached; and this appearance of defection flung Chunda-saheb into such perplexity, that he did not venture to pursue the English, over whom he would otherwise have had every advantage.

The panic did not cease with the day, but operated so strongly, that captain Gingen, to avoid worse consequences, determined to remove the troops from the sight of an enemy they so much dreaded, and at midnight broke up the camp, and marching with great expedition in the road leading to Tritchinopoly, arrived the next evening at the streights of Utatoor, distant about 25 miles from that city: a part of the range of mountains which bounds the province of Arcot to the westward, forms one side of these streights, and some hills about a mile to the east, the other: the ground for several miles farther eastward is covered with rocks, which render them impassable to an army encumbered with carriages. The company of grenadiers consisting of 100 men, together with 100 Caffres and Topasses, with two field pieces, were left under the command of captain Dalton, in a village at the entrance of the streights: the main body encamped in the valley; and in order to secure the rear of the camp, some Europeans were placed in the fort of Utatoor, which lies about two miles south of the streights.

The next day the enemy took the same rout, and for the conveniency of water halted about eight miles from the streights. A few days after

after about 100 of their horſe appeared in ſight of the village, riding about and flouriſhing their ſabres in defiance: captain Gingen, with ſeveral of the principal officers of the battalion, happened at this time to be there, who were ſo much offended at this bravado, that ſeven of them mounted their horſes, and ſallied with 12 troopers and 100 Sepoys to attack the party: they retreated as the Engliſh approached, ſometimes halting as if they intended to ſtand the ſhock, and in this manner led them three miles from the village, when they galloped away at full ſpeed and diſappeared. The Engliſh had not proceeded a mile in their return to the camp, when they diſcovered a body of near 3000 horſe coming out of a neighbouring thicket, where they were poſted in ambuſcade, and from hence had detached the party which appeared at the village. The Sepoys were ordered to diſperſe, and the horſemen forming into a compact body, puſhed forwards ſo briſkly, that only four or five of the enemy's ſquadrons had time to fling themſelves in their way: theſe were attacked ſword in hand, and the troops cut their way through, but not without the loſs of lieutenant Maſkelyne and three troopers, who were made priſoners; the reſt gained the village; but all the Sepoys were either killed or taken. Mr. Maſkelyne was ſoon after releaſed by Chunda-ſaheb, to whom he gave his parole; for the French, who were at this time as cautious as the Engliſh of appearing principals in the war, affected to have no authority over the priſoners. The ill ſucceſs of this inconſiderate excurſion, encreaſed the diffidence which the ſoldiers entertained of their officers; who began likewiſe to diſagree amongſt themſelves, concurring in nothing but in thinking that the enemy were much too ſtrong for them. 1751.

The next day Chunda-ſaheb encamped within five miles of the village, and employed two days in reconnoitring the ground quite up to the ſtreights. On the third, the 13th of July, their whole army was diſcovered advancing in battle-array. Several parties of cavalry preceded the line, and came on each flank of the village; and ſoon after appeared a body of 4000 Sepoys with ſeven pieces of cannon, ſupported by a company of 100 Topaſſes; theſe marched up ſlowly and in good order: the cavalry brought up the rear; and were ſoon after rejoined by the other parties which had been ſent forward, excepting a

few

1751. few squadrons which galloped on, and stationed themselves between the village and the streights. Captain Dalton had began to fire from his two field pieces, when he received orders to quit his post, and join the main body, which had advanced a little way from the camp to favour his retreat: the near approach of the enemy now rendered the execution of this order liable to many difficulties; however, to conceal his intentions from them as long as possible, he first drew up the greatest part of his detachment out of their sight behind the village, and then ordered the two field pieces to be sent to him; after which the rest of the detachment marched through the village and joined him. Thus the whole body formed before the enemy discovered their intention: as soon as they were convinced of it, their Sepoys rushed through the village, and began to fire from the huts on the rear of the English party, who had scarcely got out of reach of this fire, when the enemy's whole cavalry, divided into two bodies, came galloping round each side of the village, and surrounded them: the men did not lose courage, and by a heavy fire obliged them to retreat into the village. The detachment moving slowly on toward the camp, had not proceeded far before the enemy, horse and foot, returned to the charge, and surrounded them again. The Caffres, Topasses, and a platoon of Europeans kept up a constant fire, whilst the grenadiers continually presented and recovered their arms, preserving their fire for the last extremity; and by this reserve constantly deterred the cavalry from charging: in this manner they made their retreat good to the entrance of the streights, where the ground being rocky, hindered the enemy's horse from continuing in compact squadrons. The detachment, now reinforced by two platoons from the main body, halted more frequently, giving their whole fire at once, and joined their army in good order, bringing off their killed and wounded, which were fifteen men. The enemy following them, were insensibly led within a small distance of the whole force now united with eight pieces of cannon in front; they at first appeared determined to stand their ground, and bring on a general action; but finding themselves severely galled by the artillery, which, together with the whole line, advanced upon them, they gave way, and lost 300 men before they got out of cannon-

shot:

shot: their cannon were ill served, and did but little damage, and the French battalion never appeared until the firing ceased, when they were discovered taking possession of the village, in the rear of which the rest of the army likewise pitched their tents. 1751.

Altho' the post in the streights was deemed defensible, it was feared from the great superiority of Chunda-saheb's cavalry and Sepoys, that he would detach a body of men, and post it between the camp and Tritchinopoly, from which city the army drew all its provisions across the two largest rivers in the Carnatic. From this apprehension it was determined to retreat without delay, and the army decamped silently in the night; they never halted till two the next day, fatigued to excess with a march of eighteen hours, performed without refreshment in the hottest season of this sultry climate, and after the fatigues they had endured in the action of the preceding day. Luckily the enemy's cavalry were so dispirited with the loss they then sustained, that they never attempted to interrupt the retreat: they however followed at a distance, and before night took post within three miles of the army, which was now arrived within sight of Tritchinopoly, and encamped close to the northern bank of the Coleroon.

This river is a principal arm of another called the Caveri, which has its source in the mountains within thirty miles of Mangalore on the coast of Malabar, and passing through the kingdom of Mysore, runs 400 miles before it reaches Tritchinopoly. About five miles to the north-west of this city the Caveri divides itself into two principal arms. The northern is called the Coleroon, and disembogues at Devi-Cotah: the other retains the name of Caveri; and about twenty miles to the eastward of Tritchinopoly begins to send forth several large branches, all of which pass through the kingdom of Tanjore, and are the cause of the great fertility of that country. For several miles after the separation, the banks of the Coleroon and Caveri are in no part two miles asunder, in many scarcely one; and at Coiladdy, a fort fifteen miles to the east of Tritchinopoly, the two streams approach so near to each other, that the people of the country have been obliged to fling up a large and strong mound of earth to keep them from uniting again. The long slip of land enclosed by the two channels between Coiladdy and the place where

1751. the two ſtreams firſt ſeparate, is called the iſland of Seringham, famous throughout Indoſtan for the great pagoda from which it derives its name. This temple is ſituated about a mile from the weſtern extremity of the iſland, at a ſmall diſtance from the bank of the Coleroon: it is compoſed of ſeven ſquare incloſures, one within the other, the walls of which are 25 feet high, and four thick. Theſe incloſures are 350 feet diſtant from one another, and each has four large gates with a high tower; which are placed, one in the middle of each ſide of the incloſure, and oppoſite to the four cardinal points. The outward wall is near four miles in circumference, and its gateway to the ſouth is ornamented with pillars, ſeveral of which are ſingle ſtones 33 feet long, and nearly five in diameter; and thoſe which form the roof are ſtill larger: in the inmoſt incloſure are the chapels. About half a mile to the eaſt of Seringham, and nearer to the Caveri than the Coleroon, is another large pagoda called Jumbakiſtna: but this has only one incloſure. The extreme veneration in which Seringham is held, ariſes from a belief that it contains that identical image of the god Wiſtchnu, which uſed to be worſhipped by the god Brama. Pilgrims from all parts of the peninſula come here to obtain abſolution, and none come without an offering of money; and a large part of the revenue of the iſland is allotted for the maintenance of the Bramins who inhabit the pagoda; and theſe, with their families, formerly compoſed a multitude, not leſs than 40,000 ſouls, maintained without labour by the liberality of ſuperſtition. Here, as in all the other great pagodas of India, the Bramins live in a ſubordination which knows no reſiſtance, and ſlumber in a voluptuouſneſs which knows no wants; and, ſenſible of the happineſs of their condition, they quit not the ſilence of their retreats to mingle in the tumults of the ſtate; nor point the brand, flaming from the altar, againſt the authority of the ſovereign, or the tranquillity of the government. This repoſe was now doomed to be much diſturbed, and the temple to endure ſuch pollutions as it had never before been expoſed to.

The Engliſh battalion took poſſeſſion of Pitchandah, a fortified pagoda ſituated on the northern bank of the Coleroon, about a mile to the eaſt of Seringham: the reſt of the army encamped along the

river near the pagoda. The camp was only acceſſible by the high road; for the reſt of the ground was laid out in rice fields, which being at this ſeaſon overflowed, formed a moraſs not to be paſſed by cavalry: but the army ſoon found difficulties in getting proviſions, which could now only be brought from the oppoſite ſhore under the protection of the guns of the camp, and it was feared that this diſtreſs would be greatly increaſed by the enemy's ſending a ſtrong detachment acroſs the river to take poſſeſſion of the great pagoda. It was therefore reſolved to prevent them, and orders were given for the whole army to croſs the river. 1751.

The Coleroon, like all the other rivers on the coaſt of Coromandel, is ſubject to very ſudden and unforeſeen alterations, which depend on the rains that fall on the mountains of the Malabar coaſt; ſo that in the ſpace of twenty-four hours it often, from being fordable, becomes almoſt impaſſable even by boats; and at this time it was ſcarcely fordable, and very rapid. The ammunition and ſtores were tranſported before day-light in two large flat boats, kept by the government of Tritchinopoly to ferry over horſes. The troops then followed with the field-pieces: and the retreat was not diſcovered by the enemy until the laſt boat, with four of the field pieces, was paſſing. This ſtuck upon a ſand-bank, and the enemy brought down their guns, and cannonaded it; on which it was abandoned by the boatmen; but the grenadiers, who formed the rear-guard, brought it off, and the whole army paſſed without any other loſs than that of two or three tumbrils, and one ſmall iron gun belonging to the Nabob.

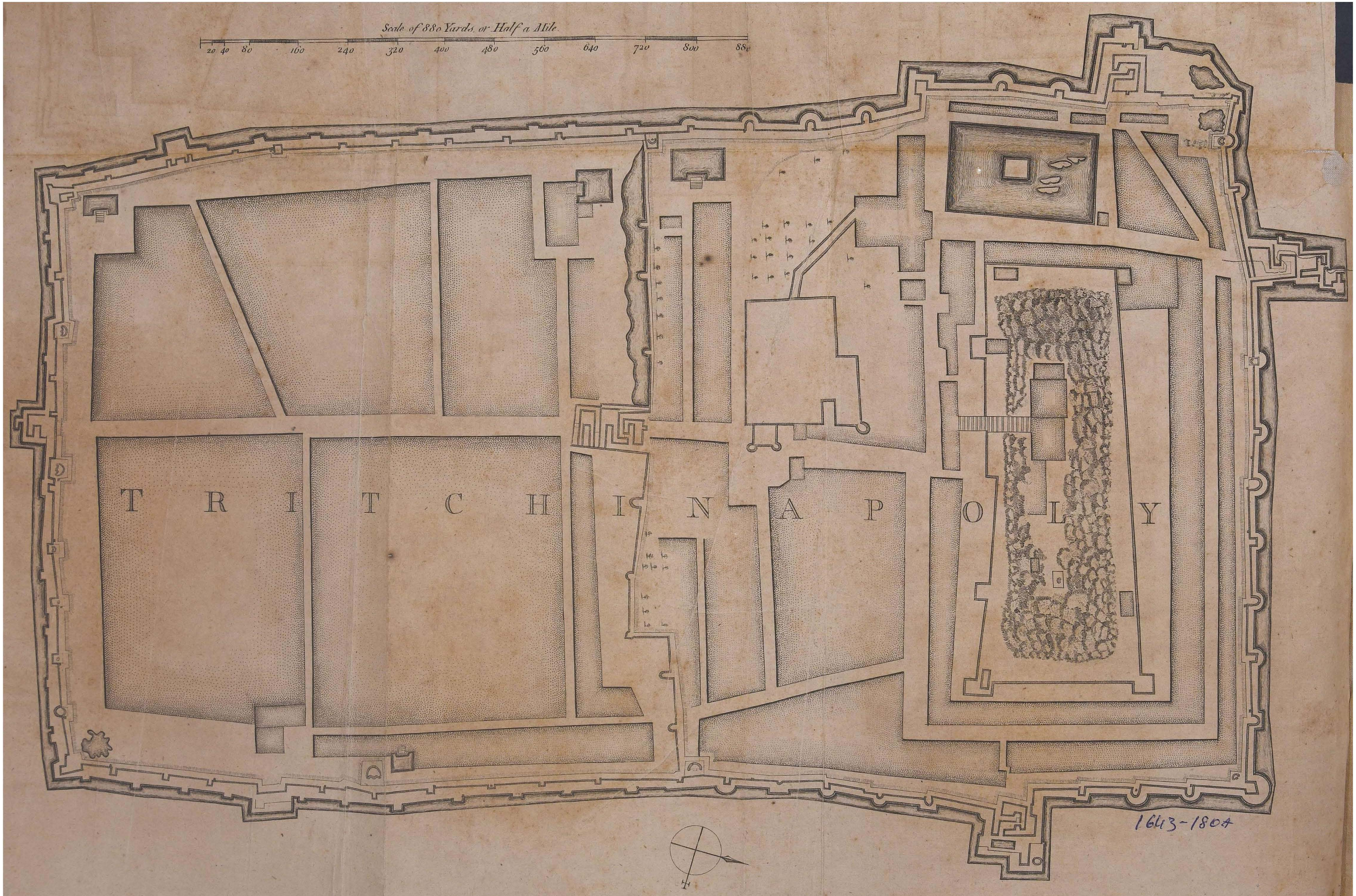
The Engliſh troops, as well as thoſe of the Nabob, entered the pagoda, and were admitted with great reluctance into three of the firſt incloſures, which affording room much more than ſufficient for their reception, they complied with the earneſt ſollicitations of the Bramins, imploring them to carry the ſtain of their pollutions no nearer the habitation of the idol. It was evident this poſt might have been defended againſt the enemy's whole force, ſince the cannon of Tritchinopoly and thoſe in the pagoda were near enough to have kept the communication open: but the ſpirit of retreat ſtill ſo ſtrongly poſſeſſed the army, that they ſuſpected the outward wall of Seringham to be in a ruinous condition, and thought the extent of it too great to be de-

1751. fended by ſo ſmall a force. Indeed the Engliſh battalion was now reduced to 400 men, and the Nabob's troops could not be depended on. It was therefore determined, as the laſt reſource, to take ſhelter under the walls of Tritchinopoly, and this reſolution was put in execution two days after the army took poſſeſſion of Seringham.

The city of Tritchinopoly lies about 90 miles inland from the coaſt, and is ſituated within half a mile of the ſouthern bank of the Caveri, and about a mile and a half ſouth-eaſt from Seringham. It is a parallelogram, of which the eaſt and weſt ſides extend near 2000 yards, and the north and ſouth about 1200. It has a double incloſure of walls, each of which are flanked by round towers, built at equal diſtances from one another: the outward wall is 18 feet high, and about five feet thick, without rampart or parapet: the inward is much ſtronger, being 30 feet high, with a rampart of ſtone decreaſing by large ſteps from the ground to the top, where it is 10 feet broad, and has a thin parapet of ſtone about ſeven feet high, in which are loop holes to fire through. There is an interval between the two walls of 25 feet, and before the outward a ditch 30 feet wide and 12 deep, unequally ſupplied with water at different ſeaſons, but never quite dry. In the northern part of the city ſtands a rock 150 feet high, from which the adjacent country is diſcovered for many miles round.

The Engliſh battalion encamped on the weſt ſide of the city cloſe to the ditch, and the Nabob's troops on the ſouthern ſide: captain Cope, with 100 of the Europeans ſent thither in the beginning of the year, remained within the walls.

Chunda-ſaheb and the French took poſſeſſion of Seringham ſoon after it was evacuated by the Nabob's army; and in the beginning of Auguſt they ſent a ſtrong detachment to attack Coiladdy, a mud fort about a mile to the eaſt of the great bank which terminates the iſland of Seringham, and the only poſt which ſtill held out for the Nabob. Captain Gingen, informed of this motion, detached 20 Europeans and 100 Sepoys, under the command of enſign Truſler, to reinforce the garriſon. This officer defended the fort very gallantly for ſeveral days, until it was ſo ſhattered as to be no longer tenable: he then received orders to draw off his men in the night; and a detachment



Thos. Kitchin Sculpsit.

tachment of 200 Europeans were ſent to poſt themſelves oppoſite to the fort on the ſouthern bank of the Caveri, in order to cover his retreat: but the Sepoys, inſtead of paſſing the river a few at a time, whilſt the Europeans were firing from the wall to amuſe the enemy, threw themſelves precipitately into the water all together, every one preſſing to get over to the covering party as faſt as he could. Their noiſe in this confuſion diſcovered them to the enemy, who increaſed it by firing upon them, and at the ſame time prepared to aſſault the fort; upon which the Europeans likewiſe plunged into the river, and throwing away their arms, with difficulty joined the covering party. This ſucceſs determined Chunda-ſaheb to croſs the Caveri, and leaving a garriſon in Seringham, he encamped with the reſt of his army to the eaſt of Tritchinopoly. 1751.

The preſidency of Fort St. David ſaw, with great anxiety, their efforts to ſupport Mahomed-ally, fruſtrated by the retreat of his army out of the Carnatic, where he now no longer poſſeſſed a ſingle diſtrict: and Verdachelum, the only fort to the north of the Coleroon which acknowledged him, was inveſted by the troops of a neighbouring polygar. The ſhips from Europe having brought ſome recruits, a detachment of 80 Europeans and 300 Sepoys, with a large convoy of ſtores, were ſent from Fort St. David in the middle of July to relieve it; but every good officer being already in the field, there remained none in the garriſon to whom ſuch a command could be prudently intruſted. The governor Mr. Saunders therefore requeſted Mr. Pigot, one of the council, and a man of reſolution, to proceed with the detachment until it ſhould be out of riſque of enemies, and then to ſend it forward under the command of the military officer to Tritchinopoly. Lieutenant Clive likewiſe reſolved to accompany this detachment. This young man, ſoon after the reduction of Devi-Cotah, had reaſſumed the mercantile ſervice of the company, in which he firſt went to India; and from that time had held the office of commiſſary for ſupplying the European troops with proviſions. In the proſecution of this employment, as well as from his love of enterprize, he had accompanied the army from the beginning of this campaign, until they began to retreat before the enemy at Vol-condah. The detachment ſurprized the Polygar's troops at midnight, who took flight at the

firſt

1751. first fire, and the convoy entered Verdachelum without any loss. From hence Mr. Pigot sent the detachment through the country of Tanjore to reinforce the battalion at Tritchinopoly, which they joined without interruption; the French at this time not having crossed the Caveri. He then returned from Verdachelum to Fort St. David, accompanied by Mr. Clive, 12 Sepoys, and as many servants: in their way they were surrounded by the Polygar's troops, who with matchlocks harassed this little party some hours, and killed seven of the Sepoys, and several of the attendants. The ammunition of the rest being expended, they were ordered to disperse, and Mr. Pigot and Clive saved themselves by the speed of their horses from a party of cavalry, who pursued them several miles.

In the middle of July the presidency prepared to send another reinforcement to Tritchinopoly, where the discontent which prevailed amongst the officers made it necessary to remove several of them at a time when there were very few fit to succeed to their posts: a captain's commission was therefore given to Mr. Clive, who proceeded with a detachment into the country of Tanjore, where he was joined by another from Devi-Cotah, under the command of Captain Clarke, who took the command of the whole, which, united, consisted of only 100 Europeans, and 50 Sepoys, with one small field piece. The king of Tanjore, like all other Indian princes, cautious of declaring whilst the event remained doubtful, suffered both the English and French troops to march through his country to Tritchinopoly: and this being the only rout by which the English from the sea-coast could now gain the city, the fort of Devi-Cotah began to acquire an importance not foreseen when they took it. The French detached from Coiladdy 30 Europeans and 500 Sepoys, who came in sight of the English party near the village of Condore, situated ten miles to the north of Tanjore; the high road led through the village, and both anxious to get possession of it, entered it hastily at the same time at different ends. A skirmish ensued, in which the French officer was desperately wounded, and 10 of his Europeans were killed, on which the rest with the Sepoys took flight; and the English making a circuit of several miles to avoid the enemy's camp, arrived safe at the city.

Notwith-

Notwithſtanding theſe reinforcements, the Engliſh battalion at Tritchinopoly did not exceed 600 men; whereas the French had 900, and the troops of Chunda-ſaheb outnumbered the Nabob's ten to one. The ſtrength of the city indeed rendered the reduction of it very difficult; but the Nabob's army, at the ſame time that they were incapable of retrieving his affairs, exhauſted his treaſures, and his revenues were daily cut off by the enemy taking poſſeſſion of the countries which furniſhed them. 1751.

Captain Clive, on his return from Tritchinopoly in the beginning of Auguſt, repreſented this ſituation of affairs to the preſidency, and propoſed, as the only reſource, to attack the poſſeſſions of Chunda-ſaheb in the territory of Arcot; offering to lead the expedition himſelf, which he doubted not would cauſe a diverſion of part of the enemy's force from Tritchinopoly. Fort St. David and Madraſs were left, the one with 100, the other with leſs than 50 men, in order to ſupply the greateſt force that could be collected for this enterprize. The detachment, when compleated, nevertheleſs, conſiſted of no more than 300 Sepoys and 200 Europeans, with eight officers, ſix of whom had never before been in action, and four of theſe ſix were young men in the mercantile ſervice of the company, who, inflamed by his example, took up the ſword to follow him. This handful of men, with only three field pieces for their artillery, marched from Madraſs on the 26th of Auguſt, and on the 29th arrived at Conjeveram, a conſiderable town with a large pagoda, lying about 40 miles inland, where they received intelligence that the fort of Arcot was garriſoned by 1100 men; on which captain Clive wrote to Madraſs, deſiring that two 18 pounders might be ſent after him without delay. On the 31ſt he halted within 10 miles of Arcot, where the enemy's ſpies reported, that they had diſcovered the Engliſh marching with unconcern through a violent ſtorm of thunder, lightning, and rain; and this circumſtance, from their notions of omens, gave the garriſon ſo high an opinion of the fortitude of the approaching enemy, that they inſtantly abandoned the fort, and a few hours after the Engliſh entered the city, which had no walls or defences; and marching through 100,000 ſpectators, who gazed on them with admiration and reſpect, took poſſeſſion of the fort, in which they found a large quantity of lead and gun-

1751. gun-powder, with 8 pieces of cannon, from 4 to 8 pounders. The merchants had, for ſecurity, depoſited in the fort effects to the value of 50,000 pounds, but theſe were punctually reſtored to the owners; and this judicious abſtemiouſneſs conciliated many of the principal inhabitants to the Engliſh intereſt. The fort was inhabited by 3 or 4000 perſons, who, at their own requeſt, were permitted to remain in their dwellings.

Captain Clive made it his firſt care to collect ſuch proviſions and materials as might enable him to ſuſtain a ſiege; and foreſeeing that the enemy would ſoon recover from their fright, and return into the town, if he confined himſelf to the fort, determined to go in queſt of them: and on the 4th of September marched out with the greateſt part of his men, and four field pieces: in the afternoon he diſcovered the fugitive garriſon, conſiſting of 600 horſe and 500 foot, drawn up near Timery, a fort ſituated 6 miles ſouth-weſt of the city. They had a field piece, managed by two or three Europeans, from which they fired at a great diſtance, and killed a camel and wounded a Sepoy: but as ſoon as they ſaw the Engliſh within muſket-ſhot, retreated to the hills in their rear; upon which the Engliſh returned to the fort.

The troops marched out again on the 6th, and found the enemy drawn up within gun-ſhot of Timery, in a grove, incloſed with a bank and a ditch; about 50 yards in front of which was a large tank, ſurrounded likewiſe with a bank much higher than that of the grove; but by age and neglect the tank itſelf was almoſt choaked up and dry. Their number now appeared to be 2000, and they had two field pieces, which fired ſmartly as the Engliſh advanced, and killed three Europeans; on which accident the line advanced more briſkly towards the enemy, who frightened by the vivacity of their approach, did not think themſelves ſafe in the grove, but hurried with precipitation into the tank, and began to fire from the banks, expoſing ſo little of their bodies that the Engliſh fire did no execution amongſt them, whilſt theirs wounded ſeveral of the Europeans and Sepoys. The troops were therefore ordered to move behind ſome neighbouring buildings, from which enſign Glaſs was ſoon after detached with a platoon of 40 men, to attack one ſide of the tank, whilſt another, under the command of lieutenant Bulkley, puſhed to attack the enemy in front. Both gained the banks, and gave their

their fire at the ſame inſtant, amongſt numbers crowded together in the tank; which immediately put them to flight. The troops then took poſſeſſion of the village under the walls of the fort, and ſummoned the governor. Meſſages paſſed, during which his ſpies diſcovered that the Engliſh had no battering cannon, which intelligence determined him not to ſurrender. Several ſhells were therefore thrown into the fort from a cohorn mortar, which proving ineffectual, the troops marched back to Arcot, and the enemy's cavalry hovered round them as they retreated, but kept out of the reach of their fire. 1751.

The garriſon remained in the fort 10 days, diligently employed in many neceſſary works; and the enemy, now augmented to 3000 men, imputing this intermiſſion of their ſallies to fear, encamped within three miles of the town, giving out that they intended to beſiege the fort. Captain Clive determined to take advantage of their ſecurity; and on the 14th of September marched out, two hours after midnight, with the greateſt part of his garriſon, and entering their camp by ſurprize, found them, as he expected, aſleep. The troops beat up the camp from one end to the other, firing continually on numbers taking flight on all ſides with ſhrieks and confuſion: the terror was ſo great that very few made uſe of their arms, and even theſe few, after a ſingle diſcharge made at random, mingled with the reſt of the fugitives; and when the day broke, none of them remained in ſight. This ſucceſs was obtained without the loſs of a man.

The two 18 pounders, which had been demanded from Madraſs, with ſome military ſtores, were at this time on the road, but eſcorted only by a few Sepoys; and the enemy hoping to intercept them, ſent a large detachment, which took poſſeſſion of the great pagoda of Conjeveram: 30 Europeans and 50 Sepoys, with a field piece, were ſent from the fort to diſlodge them, and on their arrival found the pagoda abandoned; the enemy having retreated to a fort in the neighbourhood, where they were continually reinforced from the main body. Much depending on the ſafe arrival of the convoy, captain Clive, reſerving only 30 Europeans and 50 Sepoys for the guard of the fort, ſent all the reſt to ſtrengthen the detachment which eſcorted it. On this the enemy changed their deſign, and re-

1751. turned haftily to the city in expectation that an affault made on the fort during the abfence of fo great a part of the garrifon, would encourage the inhabitants to rife; and in this confidence, their whole force, horfe and foot, advanced as foon as it was dark, and furrounded the fort. Their mufketry, from the adjacent houfes, kept a continual fire upon the ramparts; and this attack producing no effect, a large body of horfe and foot advanced promifcuoufly to the principal gate, endeavouring by outcries, and the noife of their military mufic, to confound the attention of the garrifon, from whom they fuftained feveral difcharges of mufketry without quitting their ground. At laft fome grenades were thrown amongft them, the explofion of which frightening the horfes, flung their cavalry into fuch confufion that they galloped away, trampling over the foot: but within an hour they recovered their fpirits, and made fuch another attack at the other gate, where they were received and beaten off as at the firft. Their infantry continued their fire until day-break, when the Englifh detachments, with the convoy, entered the town, upon which they abandoned it with precipitation. The inhabitants in the fort, fatisfied with the treatment they had received from the garrifon, betrayed no fymptoms of infurrection during the attack.

The acquifition of the fort of Arcot foon produced the effect which had been expected from it. Chunda-faheb detached 4000 of his troops, horfe and foot, from Tritchinopoly, who in their rout were joined by his fon Raja-faheb, with 150 Europeans from Pondicherry, and together with the troops already collected in the neighbourhood of Arcot, entered the city on the 23d of September, and Raja-faheb fixed his head-quarters in the palace of the Nabob.

Captain Clive finding himfelf on the point of being clofely befieged, determined to make one vigorous effort to drive the enemy out of the town, which, if it did not fucceed, might at leaft produce the good effect of impreffing them with an opinion of the courage of his men. On the 24th at noon, the greateft part of the garrifon, with the four field pieces, fallied out of the north-weft gate: this faced a ftreet which, after continuing about feventy yards in a direct line to the north, turned off to the eaft, and formed another ftreet, at the end of which on the left hand was fituated the Nabob's palace. This fronted another ftreet, which ftriking to the fouth, continued on the eaftern

fide

side of the fort. The square interval between these three streets and the northern wall of the fort was filled with buildings and inclosures. Captain Clive intending to place the enemy between two fires, ordered a platoon under the command of ensign Glass to march up the street on the eastern side of the fort, which led up to the palace, and advanced himself with the main body along the street leading from the north-west gate. The French troops, with four field pieces, were drawn up at the end of the cross street in front of the palace. Captain Clive's party no sooner came in sight of them than a hot cannonade ensued in the cross street, at the distance of only 30 yards. The French in a few minutes were driven from their guns, and ran into the palace; but by this time the troops of Raja-saheb had taken possession of all the houses in the street; and secure under this cover, kept up a continual fire from their musketry with such good aim, that 14 men, who pushed to bring away the French guns, were all either killed or wounded. There was on one side of the street a large Choultry: these are buildings intended for the reception of travellers, covered and inclosed on three sides with walls, but open in front, where, instead of a wall, the roof is supported by pillars. Captain Clive, to preserve his men, relinquished the intention of bringing off the enemy's cannon, and ordered them to enter the Choultry; from hence the artillery men stepping out and retreating into it immediately after they had performed the services allotted to each of them, continued to load and fire their field pieces until they had recoiled into the north street. The troops then quitting the Choultry, joined their guns and proceeded to the fort without meeting any farther molestation. Ensign Glass's platoon returned at the same time: these had encountered and put to flight 3 or 400 of the enemy's Sepoys, whom they found posted as an advanced guard in an inclosure adjoining to the street through which they intended to pass to the palace; where, by this interruption, they were prevented from arriving in time to render the service expected from them. The garrison suffered this day the loss of 15 Europeans, who were either killed on the spot, or died afterwards of their wounds; amongst them was lieutenant Trenwith, who perceiving a Sepoy from a window taking aim at captain Clive, pulled him on one side,

1751.

1751. upon which the Sepoy, changing his aim, ſhot lieutenant Trenwith through the body. Lieutenant Revel, the only artillery officer, with 16 other men, was likewiſe diſabled. This ſally would be condemned by the rules of war eſtabliſhed in Europe, for they forbid the beſieged to run ſuch a riſque, unleſs they are aſſured of greatly outnumbering the party they attack; but it is not reaſonable to ſtrain the rules calculated for one ſyſtem, to the ſervice of another differing ſo widely from it, as the modes of war in Indoſtan differ from thoſe in Europe.

The next day Raja-ſaheb was joined by 2000 men from Veloor, commanded by Mortiz-ally in perſon; and took poſſeſſion of all the avenues leading to the fort, which ſeemed little capable of ſuſtaining the impending ſiege. Its extent was more than a mile in circumference. The walls were in many places ruinous; the rampart too narrow to admit the firing of artillery; the parapet low and ſlightly built; ſeveral of the towers were decayed, and none of them capable of receiving more than one piece of cannon; the ditch was in moſt places fordable, in others dry, and in ſome choaked up: there was between the foot of the walls and the ditch a ſpace about 10 feet broad, intended for a fauſſebray, but this had no parapet at the ſcarp of the ditch. The fort had two gates, one to the north-weſt, the other to the eaſt; both of which were large piles of maſonry projecting 40 feet beyond the walls, and the paſſage from theſe gates was, inſtead of a draw-bridge, a large cauſeway croſſing the ditch. The garriſon had from their arrival employed themſelves indefatigably to remove and repair as many of theſe inconveniences and defects as the ſmallneſs of their numbers could attend to. They had endeavoured to burn down ſeveral of the neareſt houſes, but without ſucceſs; for theſe having no wood-work in their conſtruction, excepting the beams which ſupported the ceiling, reſiſted the blaze: of theſe houſes the enemy's infantry took poſſeſſion, and began to fire upon the ramparts, and wounded ſeveral of the garriſon before night, when they retired. At midnight, enſign Glaſs was ſent with 10 men, and ſome barrels of gun-powder, to blow up two of the houſes which moſt annoyed the fort. This party were let down by ropes over the walls, and entering the houſes without being diſcovered, made the exploſion, but with ſo little ſkill that it did not produce the intended effect: at their return the rope, by

by which ensign Glass was getting into the fort, broke, and he was by the fall rendered incapable of farther duty; so that, at the beginning of the siege, the garrison was deprived of the service of four of the eight officers who set out on the expedition; for one was killed, two wounded, and another returned to Madrass; and the troops fit for duty were diminished to 120 Europeans and 200 Sepoys: these were besieged by 150 Europeans, 2000 Sepoys, 3000 cavalry, and 5000 Peons. 1751.

The store of provision in the fort was only sufficient to supply the garrison sixty days, which rendered it necessary to send away all the inhabitants, excepting a few artificers, and the enemy permitted them to pass through their guards without molestation: amongst those who remained was a mason, who had for many years been employed in the fort; he gave information that there was an aqueduct under ground, known to very few, but which, if discovered by the enemy, would enable them to drain the only reservoir of water in the fort: the man was rewarded for this seasonable intelligence, and employed to prevent the mischief, by choaking up a part of the aqueduct within the walls. For 14 days, the enemy, not yet furnished with battering cannon, carried on the siege by firing from the houses with musketry, and a bombardment from four mortars. The bombardment did little damage, and to avoid the effect of the musketry, none of the garrison were suffered to appear on the ramparts, excepting the few immediately necessary to prevent a surprize; but notwithstanding this precaution, several were killed, and more wounded: for the enemy, secure in the houses, and firing from resting-places, took such excellent aim, that they often hit a man when nothing but his head appeared above the parapet; and in this manner three serjeants were killed, who at different times singly accompanied captain Clive in visiting the works. Mortiz-ally, a few days after his arrival, pretended to be dissatisfied with Raja-saheb, and removed his troops to a different part of the city, from whence he sent a messenger, inviting the garrison to make a sally on the quarters of Raja-saheb, in which he offered to assist them with his whole force. Captain Clive mistrusted his professions, but considering the advantage of keeping such a number of the enemy's troops inactive, pretended to approve

of

1751. of the proposal, and carried on for several days a correspondence, until Mortiz-ally, suspecting his scheme was detected, rejoined the army.

On the 24th of October, the French troops received from Pondicherry two 18 pounders, and seven pieces of smaller calibre, and immediately opened a battery to the north-west, which was so well served, that their very first shot dismounted one of the 18 pounders in the fort, and the next entirely disabled it. The garrison mounted the other 18 pounder; and this, after a few shot, was likewise dismounted: after which it was employed only in such parts of the fort, where it was not exposed to the enemy's artillery. The three field pieces were likewise cautiously reserved to repulse the enemy when they should storm; so that their battery firing without much opposition, in six days beat down all the wall lying between two towers, and made a practicable breach of fifty feet. In the mean time the garrison were employed in making works to defend it: a trench was dug just under the rampart, and behind that at some distance another; both of which were scattered with crows feet, and behind them the wall of a house was pulled down to the height of a breast-work; from whence a row of pallisadoes was carried along on each end of both trenches, and continued up the rampart to the parapet. A field piece was planted on one of the towers which flanked the breach without, and two small pieces of cannon on the flat roof of a house within the fort, opposite to the entrance. In these employments, as indeed in all others, the officers contributed their labour equally with the common men; and the enemy, informed of these preparations to defend the breach, did not think it safe to attack it before they had made another: they had by this time burst one of their 18 pounders, and removed the other, with one nine pounder, to a battery which they erected to the south-west.

The garrison intending to convince Raja-saheb that they were in a condition to execute even labours not indispensibly necessary, thickened the highest tower of the ramparts, and then raised on the top of it a mound of earth to such a height as commanded the palace over the interjacent houses. On the top of this mound they hoisted a vast piece of cannon, sent, according to the tradition of the fort, from

Delhi,

Delhi, by Aureng-zebe, and ſaid to have been drawn by 1000 yoke of oxen. There were ſeveral iron balls belonging to it, each weighing 72 pounds. The cannon was laid on the mound, and loaded with 30 pounds of powder, which was fired by a train carried to a conſiderable diſtance on the ground. The ſhot went through the palace, to the no ſmall terror of Raja-ſaheb and his principal officers; and as this was the only effect intended, the cannon was fired only once in the day, at the time when the officers aſſembled at the head-quarters: on the fourth day it burſt. 1751.

The enemy, as if they intended to retaliate this affront, filled up a large houſe, which commanded the eaſtern gate, with earth well ramm'd down, and upon this baſe raiſed a ſquare mound of earth to ſuch a height as commanded not only the gate, but likewiſe every part within the fort: from hence they intended to fire on the rampart with muſketry and two ſmall pieces of cannon. They were ſuffered to go on with their work until they had compleated it and mounted the cannon, when the garriſon began to fire from the reſerved 18 pounder, and in leſs than an hour the mound gave way and tumbled at once with 50 men ſtationed on it; ſome of whom were killed, and many diſabled.

Notwithſtanding the numbers of the enemy's guards which ſurrounded the fort, the garriſon, by means of able ſpies, carried on a conſtant correſpondence with Madraſs and Fort St. David, where the company's agents were very ſollicitous to relieve them, and having received ſome recruits from Europe, formed a party of 100 Europeans, who with 200 Sepoys, ſet out from Madraſs under the command of lieutenant Innis. Before they had advanced 30 miles in their way to Arcot, they were ſurrounded in the town of Trivatore by 2000 of Raja-ſaheb's troops detached with 20 Europeans and two field pieces from the city. The Engliſh party having no cannon, were ſo ſeverely annoyed by the enemy's, that lieutenant Innis, as the only reſource, made a puſh with all his Europeans to drive them from their guns. The attempt ſucceeded, but not without a ſharp conteſt, in which 20 of the Engliſh and two of their officers were killed, and a greater number wounded. This loſs deterred the reſt from continuing their march, and they retreated to Ponamalee, a fort built by the Moors, and at this time belonging to the company, 15 miles weſt of Madraſs.

1751. On the 24th of October the enemy opened their battery to the south-west: the part of the wall against which they directed their fire was in a very ruinous condition, but it had the advantage of being much less exposed than any other to the fire from the houses. The garrison therefore kept up a constant fire of musketry against the battery, and several times drove the enemy out of it, but the breach notwithstanding increased every day.

The retreat of lieutenant Innis left the garrison little hopes of succour from the settlements; but at this time their spirits were raised by the hopes of other resources. A body of 6000 Morattoes, under the command of Morari-row, had lain for some time encamped at the foot of the western mountains, about 30 miles from Arcot: they had been hired to assist Mahomed-ally by the king of Mysore; but the retreat of the English, and the Nabob's troops to Tritchinopoly, had been represented in the neighbouring countries so much to their prejudice, that the Nabob's affairs were thought to be desperate, and his allies were suspected of having little intention to support him; and from this persuasion the Morattoes remained inactive. Captain Clive had found means to send a messenger to inform them of his situation, and to request their approach to his relief; the messenger returning safely to the fort, brought a letter from Morari-row, in which he said that he would not delay a moment to send a detachment of his troops to the assistance of such brave men as the defenders of Arcot, whose behaviour had now first convinced him that the English could fight.

Raja-saheb receiving intelligence of their intentions, sent a flag of truce on the 30th of October, with proposals for the surrender of the fort. He offered honourable terms to the garrison, and a large sum of money to captain Clive; and if his offers were not accepted, he threatened to storm the fort immediately, and put every man to the sword.

Captain Clive, in his answer, reproached the badness of Chunda-saheb's cause, treated Raja-saheb's offers of money with contempt; and said, that he had too good an opinion of his prudence to believe that he would attempt to storm, until he had got better soldiers than the rabble of which his army was composed. As soon as the messenger was dispatched, the flag of truce was pulled down; but the enemy not

understſtanding the rules of European war, numbers of them remained near the ditch parleying with the Sepoys, and perſuading them to deſert. The croud was ſeveral times warned to retire, but continuing to diſregard the injunction, were diſperſed by a volley of ſmall arms, which killed ſeveral of them. 1751.

Lieutenant Innis's party, reinforced to the number of 150 Europeans, and with four field pieces, was now advancing under the command of Capt. Killpatrick; and on the 9th of November a detachment of Morattoes arrived in the neighbourhood, and intercepted ſome ammunition going to the enemy. They likewiſe attempted to enter the town; but finding every ſtreet and avenue barricaded, they contented themſelves with plundering and ſetting fire to ſome houſes in the ſkirts of it, after which they retreated.

By this time the enemy had, from their battery to the ſouth-weſt, made a breach much larger than that to the north-weſt, for it extended near 30 yards; but the ditch before it was full of water, and not fordable: and the garriſon had counterworked this breach with the ſame kinds of defences as the other.

Raja-ſaheb, exaſperated by the anſwer he had received to his ſummons, and alarmed by the approach of the Morattoes, and the detachment from Madraſs, determined to ſtorm the fort. In the evening a ſpy brought intelligence of this to the garriſon, and at midnight another came with a particular account of all the enemy's diſpoſitions, and of the hour of attack, which was to begin at the dawn of day by the ſignal of three bombs. Captain Clive, almoſt exhauſted with fatigue, laid down to ſleep, ordering himſelf to be awakened at the firſt alarm.

It was the 14th of November, and the feſtival which commemorates the murder of the brothers Haſſein and Jaſſein happened to fall out at this time. This is celebrated by the Mahomedans of Indoſtan with a kind of religious madneſs, ſome acting and others bewailing the cataſtrophe of their ſaints with ſo much energy, that ſeveral die of the exceſſes they commit: they are likewiſe perſuaded, that whoever falls in battle, againſt unbelievers, during any of the days of this ceremony, ſhall inſtantly be tranſlated into the higher paradiſe, without ſtopping at any of the intermediate purgatories.

1751. To the enthuſiaſm of ſuperſtition was added the more certain efficacy of inebriation; for moſt of the troops, as is cuſtomary during the agitations of this feſtival, had eaten plentifully of bang, a plant which either ſtupifies, or excites the moſt deſperate exceſſes of rage. Thus prepared, as ſoon as the morning broke, the army of Raja-ſaheb advanced to the attack. Beſides a multitude that came with ladders to every part of the walls that were acceſſible, there appeared four principal diviſions. Two of theſe diviſions advanced to the two gates, and the other two were allotted to the breaches.

Captain Clive, awakened by the alarm, found his garriſon at their poſts, according to the diſpoſitions he had made. The parties who attacked the gates drove before them ſeveral elephants, who, with large plates of iron fixed to their foreheads, were intended to break them down; but the elephants, wounded by the muſketry, ſoon turned, and trampled on thoſe who eſcorted them. The ditch before the breach to the north-weſt was fordable; and as many as the breach would admit, mounted it with a mad kind of intrepidity, whilſt numbers came and ſat down with great compoſure in the fauſſe-braye under the tower where the field piece was planted, and waited there to relieve thoſe who were employed in the attack: theſe paſſed the breach, and ſome of them even got over the firſt trench before the defenders gave fire; it fell heavily, and every ſhot did execution: and a number of muſkets were loaded in readineſs, which thoſe behind delivered to the firſt rank as faſt as they could diſcharge them. The two pieces of cannon from the top of the houſe fired likewiſe on the aſſailants, who in a few minutes abandoned the attack, when another body, and then another ſucceeded, who were driven off in the ſame manner: in the mean time bombs, with ſhort fuſees, which had been prepared and lodged on the adjacent rampart, were thrown into the fauſſe-braye, and by their exploſion drove the croud, who had ſeated themſelves there, back again over the ditch. At the breach to the ſouth-weſt the enemy brought a raft, and ſeventy men embarked on it to croſs the ditch, which was flanked by two field pieces, one in each tower: the raft had almoſt gained the fauſſe-braye, when captain Clive obſerving that the gunners fired with bad aim, took the management of one of the field pieces himſelf, and in three

or

or four discharges flung them into such confusion that they overset the raft, and tumbled into the ditch; where some of them were drowned, and the rest, intent only on their own preservation, swam back and left the raft behind. 1751.

In these different attacks the enemy continued the storm for an hour, when they relinquished all their attempts of annoyance at once, and employed themselves earnestly in carrying off their dead. Amongst these was the commander of their Sepoys, who fell in the fausse-braye of the northern breach: he had distinguished himself with great bravery in the attack, and was so much beloved by his troops, that one of them crossed the ditch and carried of his body, exposing himself during the attempt to the fire of 40 muskets, from which he had the good fortune to escape. It seemed as if the enemy expected that the garrison would permit them to fulfil this duty to their friends; but finding that they suffered severely in attempting it, they at last retreated and disappeared. Their loss during the storm was computed to be not less than 400 men killed and wounded, of which very few were Europeans, for most of the French troops were observed drawn up and looking on at a distance. Of the defenders, only four Europeans were killed and two Sepoys wounded. Many of the garrison being disabled by sickness or wounds, the number which repulsed the storm was no more than 80 Europeans, officers included, and 120 Sepoys; and these, besides serving five pieces of cannon, expended 12,000 musket cartridges during the attack.

Two hours after the enemy renewed their fire upon the fort, both with their cannon and with musketry from the houses: at two in the afternoon they demanded leave to bury their dead, which was granted, and a truce allowed until four: they then recommenced and continued their fire smartly till two in the morning, when on a sudden it ceased totally; and at day-break, intelligence was brought that the whole army had abandoned the town with precipitation. On receiving this joyful news, the garrison immediately marched into the enemy's quarters, where they found four pieces of artillery, four mortars, and a large quantity of ammunition, which they brought in triumph into the fort. During the time that the garrison were shut up in the

 fort,

1751. fort, 45 Europeans and 30 Sepoys were killed, and a greater number of both wounded, moſt of whom ſuffered by the enemy's muſketry from the houſes.

Thus ended this ſiege, maintained 50 days, under every diſadvantage of ſituation and force, by a handful of men in their firſt campaign, with a ſpirit worthy of the moſt veteran troops; and conducted by their young commander with indefatigable activity, unſhaken conſtancy, and undaunted courage: and notwithſtanding he had at this time neither read books, or converſed with men capable of giving him much inſtruction in the military art; all the reſources which he employed in the defence of Arcot, were ſuch as are dictated by the beſt maſters in the ſcience of war.

In the evening the detachment with captain Killpatrick entered the town, which the army of Raja-ſaheb no ſooner quitted than all the troops, ſent to his aſſiſtance by different chiefs, returned to their homes, and there remained with him only thoſe which had been detached by his father from Tritchinopoly. With theſe and the French he retired to Velore, and pitching his camp cloſe to the eaſtern ſide of the town, fortified it with ſtrong entrenchments. Captain Clive leaving captain Killpatrick with a garriſon in the fort, took the field on the 19th of November, with 200 Europeans, 700 Sepoys, and three field pieces, and marched to Timery, which the governor now ſurrendered on the firſt ſummons: a ſmall garriſon was left in this place, and the army returned and encamped near the weſtern ſide of the city, waiting to be joined by the Morattoes. Of theſe 5000 horſe, with Morari-row at their head, had proceeded to the ſouthward, and 1000 under the command of Baſin-row, a nephew of Morari-row, remained to aſſiſt captain Clive; but, inſtead of joining him immediately, they employed themſelves ſome days in plundering the country. As they lay encamped with great negligence within a ſhort march of Velore, the French troops with Raja-ſaheb attacked them with ſucceſs in the night, killed 40 or 50 of their horſes, and plundered their camp. After this defeat they came to the Engliſh camp, and intreated captain Clive to march to the place where they had ſuffered, in hopes of recovering their loſs. Their requeſt was complied with to keep them in temper; but nothing was recovered, for the enemy had

had carried off and ſecured the booty. At this time intelligence was received that a party of Europeans from Pondicherry were approaching towards Arni, a ſtrong fort ſituated about 20 miles to the ſouth of Arcot; on which captain Clive requeſted Baſin-row to accompany him with his troops to intercept them before they ſhould join Raja-ſaheb. The Morattoe ſeeing no probability of acquiring plunder, refuſed his aſſiſtance, and the Engliſh marched without him; but hearing that the French party had retreated to Chittapet, returned to their ſtation near Arcot. Two or three days after, Raja-ſaheb quitted his encampment near Velore, and in the night made a forced march to Arni, where he was joined by the party from Chittapet. The Morattoes ſtill continued unwilling to accompany the Engliſh in queſt of the enemy: but, hearing from their ſpies that the enemy's reinforcement had brought a large ſum of money for Raja-ſaheb, Baſin-row now expreſſed as much eagerneſs to march againſt him as he had hitherto ſhewn reluctance. The troops immediately moved; but the Morattoe was not able to aſſemble more than 600 of his horſemen, the reſt being employed in their uſual excurſions. The next afternoon, by a forced march of 20 miles, the army came in ſight of the enemy, juſt as they were preparing to croſs the river which runs to the north of Arni. The enemy, encouraged by the ſuperiority of their force, which conſiſted of 300 Europeans, 2000 horſe, and 2500 Sepoys, with four field pieces, immediately formed, and returned to meet them. Captain Clive halted to receive them in an advantageous poſt: the Morattoes were ſtationed in a grove of palm trees to the left; the Sepoys in a village to the right; and the Europeans, with the field pieces, in the center, in an open ground, which extended about three hundred yards between the grove and the village; in the front were rice fields, which at this time of the year were very ſwampy, and the approach of the enemy's cannon would have been impracticable, had there not been a cauſeway leading to the village on the right. The French troops, with about 1500 Sepoys, and their artillery, marched along the cauſeway; and the horſe, amongſt which the reſt of the Sepoys were interſperſed, moved in a ſeparate body to the left, and attacked the Morattoes in the grove ſome time before the other wing was engaged any other way than by cannonading

1751.

1751. at a diſtance. The Morattoes fought in a manner peculiar to themſelves: their cavalry were armed with ſabres, and every horſeman was cloſely accompanied by a man on foot, armed with a ſword and a large club; and ſome inſtead of a club carried a ſhort ſtrong ſpear: if a horſe was killed and the rider remained unhurt, he immediately began to act on foot; and if the rider fell, and the horſe eſcaped, he was immediately mounted, and preſſed on again to the charge by the firſt foot-man who could ſeize him. Notwithſtanding the difference of numbers, and the advantage of the enemy's diſpoſition, they behaved with great ſpirit, and made five ſucceſſive charges, in every one of which they were repulſed by the fire of the enemy's Sepoys. In the mean time the other wing advanced towards the village; but their line of march along the cauſeway was ſo much galled and enfiladed by the Engliſh field pieces, that all but the artillery-men with the cannon, and two or three platoons to ſupport them, quitted the cauſeway, and formed in the rice fields an extenſive front, which reached almoſt to the grove, where their cavalry were engaged, who imagined that this motion was made to reinforce them. Upon this change in their diſpoſition, two field pieces were ſent to ſupport the Morattoes; and the Sepoys, with two platoons of Europeans, were ordered to ſally from the village and attack the enemy's artillery. This unexpected motion terrified thoſe who remained to defend the cannon ſo much, that they immediately began to draw them off and retreat. Their example was followed by the Sepoys in the rice fields, and the retreat of theſe immediately diſpirited the horſe and foot fighting at the grove, who had ſuffered from the two field pieces ſent thither; and this whole wing gave way and retreated likewiſe, purſued by the Morattoes. Capt. Clive, with his infantry and field pieces, advanced along the cauſeway in purſuit of the enemy, who made a ſtand at three different choultries in their rout, but were beaten out of each of them; when night coming on, the purſuit ceaſed. About 50 of the French, and 150 of the enemy's cavalry and Sepoys, were either killed or wounded in the action. The Engliſh loſt no European, and only eight Sepoys; but of the Morattoes about fifty were either killed or diſabled.

The enemy continuing their retreat, croſſed the river, and entered

the town of Arni: which at midnight they quitted in great disorder, intending to make the best of their way to Gingee; and the next morning the English entered the town, in which they found many tents, and a large quantity of baggage. The Morattoes set out in pursuit of the enemy, and, before night, returned with 400 horses, and Raja-saheb's military chest, in which they found 100,000 rupees. A great number of the enemy's Sepoys came and offered their service to captain Clive, who enlisted as many as brought good arms; of whom the number amounted to 600. Receiving intelligence from them that Raja-saheb had deposited some valuable effects in the fort of Arni, he summoned the governor to deliver them up, together with his fort; who, after some altercations, sent out an elephant and 15 horses, with a great quantity of baggage, and agreed to take the oath of fealty to Mahomed-ally, but refused to surrender his fort; which the army, having no battering cannon, was not in a condition to attack. 1751.

The French, during the siege of Arcot, had again taken possession of the great pagoda of Conjeveram, and placed in it a garrison of 30 Europeans and 300 Sepoys, who from hence interrupted the communication between Arcot and Madrass, and had surprized a party of disabled men, returning from the siege. Amongst these were the officers Revel and Glass, to whom the French gave quarter, after they had murdered five or six Europeans as they lay in their litters without arms, and incapable of making resistance. Captain Clive determined to avail himself of the dispersion of Raja-saheb's forces to reduce Conjeveram; and two or three days after his victory, marched thither at the head of his own force: for Basin-row, in obedience to orders which he had received from his uncle, proceeded with the Morattoes from Arni to Tritchinopoly. The French officer at Conjeveram was summoned to surrender; and none of the garrison understanding the English language, he ordered his prisoners, Revel and Glass, to write a letter, and acquaint captain Clive, that he intended to expose them on the walls, if the pagoda was attacked. They wrote this, but added, that they hoped no regard to their safety would induce him to discontinue his operations against the place. The army waited some days for two 18 pounders, which were coming from Madrass; and

1751. as ſoon as they arrived began to batter in breach at the diſtance of 200 yards: the enemy had no cannon, but fired very ſmartly with their muſketry, which killed ſeveral men at the battery, and lieutenant Bulkley, reconnoitering the pagoda over a garden-wall in company with captain Clive, was ſhot through the head cloſe by his ſide. The wall reſiſted three days before it began to give way, when the garriſon, conſcious of their demerits, and dreading the juſt reſentment of the Engliſh, abandoned the pagoda in the night, but left behind the two priſoners. After ruining the defences of Conjeveram, captain Clive ſent 200 Europeans and 500 Sepoys to Arcot, and returned in the middle of December with the reſt to Madraſs; from whence he went to Fort St. David, to give an account of his campaign to the preſidency.

During theſe ſucceſſes in the province of Arcot, Chunda-ſaheb beleaguered Tritchinopoly. The French battalion fixed their quarters at a village called Chuckly-pollam, on the ſouthern bank of the Caveri, about two miles and a half from the eaſt ſide of the town. The troops of Chunda-ſaheb, for the convenience of water, encamped likewiſe along the bank of the river, and to the eaſtward of Chuckly-pollam, which poſt ſecured one of the flanks of their camp, and at the other extremity of it, three miles diſtant, they raiſed a redoubt, on which they mounted two pieces of cannon. The French, on whom the operations of the ſiege principally depended, ſent to their ſettlement of Karical for a train of battering artillery; and in the beginning of September they raiſed their principal battery a little to the ſouth of the north-eaſt angle of the town, and at the diſtance of 1200 yards from the walls. To ſave the fatigue of carrying on trenches between this poſt and the camp, they afterwards made the battery a regular redoubt, by incloſing it on both flanks and in the rear with a parapet and a deep ditch; here they mounted three 8 pounders, and three mortars, which were defended by a conſtant guard of 100 Europeans and 400 Sepoys. They likewiſe mounted two 18 pounders on a rock, which has ever ſince obtained the name of the French rock, and is ſituated about 2000 yards directly eaſt from the ſouth-eaſt angle of the town; they alſo raiſed a battery of two guns on the iſland of Seringham, from which they fired acroſs the

the Caveri at the northern gate of the city, to interrupt the communication of the inhabitants with the river; these guns, as well as those on the French rock, were at too great a distance to make any impression on the walls. By these works alone they hoped to reduce the city; the insufficiency of them soon raised in the English battalion a contempt of their courage and military abilities, and it was now that they began to be ashamed of having retreated before such an enemy; and judging, as usual, from events, to blame their commander for an excess of caution in his retreat, of which their own panicks had been the principal cause: for captain Gingen was undoubtedly a man of courage, and had seen much service in Europe; but having had no experience against an Indian army, fell into the error of imagining that the cavalry of Chunda-saheb would act with all the vigour of which their number and appearance seemed capable. His prudence, if improper before, became absolutely necessary now, as the French had taken possession of posts in which they could do no harm to the town, but from which they could not be driven without great loss: he therefore determined to preserve his men, whilst the enemy fatigued their troops and exhausted their ammunition to no purpose: and in this intention he kept the greatest part of the battalion and Sepoys encamped close to the western side of the town, where they were out of the reach of annoyance. 1751.

To save that part of the wall against which the enemy's principal battery fired, a glacis was raised to such a height as left nothing but the parapet exposed; and the grenadiers, commanded by captain Dalton, were posted behind this glacis: an entrenchment was flung up between the French rock and the south-east angle of the town, in which the company of Coffrees were posted, to protect from surprizes the Nabob's cavalry encamped to the south; and to oppose the enemy's battery in the island, two guns were mounted close to the southern bank of the river.

To infilade these, the French mounted two guns on the same side of the river; but were one night driven from this post by captain Dalton: they, a few days after, surprized the English entrenchment opposite to the French rock, and carried off the captain and nine

1751. Coffrees; and these two were the only enterprizes made on either side during the month of October. The enemy's batteries fired indeed constantly and smartly every day, and damaged some houses, but made no impression on the defences of the town: they supplied the defenders with a great number of cannon-balls, all of which had the English mark, being the same that the ships had fired against Pondicherry, with as little effect as they were now thrown away against Tritchinopoly.

But although little was to be feared from the efforts of an enemy who seemed ignorant of the first principles of a regular attack, yet every thing was to be apprehended from the poverty to which the Nabob was reduced. His troops threatened to desert: the expences of the English battalion, which used to be furnished from his treasury, began to be defrayed by that of Fort St. David, and he had no reason to believe that they would continue to support him any longer than there was a probability of extricating him out of his distresses; and these he foresaw would increase every day, unless he could obtain an army equal to that of Chunda-saheb, whose superiority had hitherto deterred the English troops from making any vigorous efforts.

The only prince in the peninsula from whose situation, power, and inclination, the Nabob could expect the assistance which he stood so much in need of, was the king of Mysore. The territory of this Indian prince is bounded to the east by the southern part of the Carnatic, and the kingdom of Tritchinopoly; and to the west it extends, in some parts, within 30 miles of the sea-coast of Malabar. His annual revenue is computed at 20 millions of rupees; and the whole nation bore a mortal hatred to Chunda-saheb, who during the time that he governed Tritchinopoly, formed a design of conquering the country, and besieged for several months Caroor, the strongest of their frontier towns to the eastward. The king of Mysore being an infant, the government was administered by his uncle, who acted with unlimited power: to this regent, called in the country, the *Dalaway* of Mysore, Mahomed-ally applied for assistance; and finding that the dread of Chunda-saheb's successes was not alone a sufficient motive to induce him to take up arms, he agreed to all the terms which the Mysorean demanded, and these were very exorbitant. The Nabob ratified the

treaty by his oath, and the Dalaway determined to aſſiſt him with efficacy. In conſequence of this negociation, a party of ſeventy horſemen arrived at Tritchinopoly in the beginning of October from Seringapatnam, the capital of Myſore. They brought five hundred thouſand rupees: great reſpect was ſhewn to their officer; and the day after his arrival a ſkirmiſh happened, which, although inconſiderable, gave him a favourable opinion of the Nabob's European allies. A platoon, with two or three companies of Sepoys, were ſent to cut down wood at a grove ſituated about a mile and a half ſouth-eaſt from the city. The enemy having intelligence of this detachment, ſent a large body of cavalry to cut off their retreat: their march being diſcovered from the rock in the city, the grenadiers, with ſome Sepoys, and one field piece, were ſent to ſupport the firſt party, and the troop of Myſoreans accompanied them. Captain Dalton meeting the wood-carts loaded, ordered them to proceed to the town by a diſtant road, and forming the two parties into one column, with the field piece in front, marched towards the enemy, inſtead of returning directly to the city. He firſt met the French dragoons, who halted on a ſmall eminence to reconnoitre, and waited there until they received the fire of a platoon, on which they retreated to bring up the body of Chunda-ſaheb's cavalry, who remained at ſome diſtance in the rear. Theſe came up ſome time after at full ſpeed, flouriſhing their ſwords, and made a halt within point blank ſhot, to draw the fire of the Engliſh troops before they charged; but captain Dalton ordered his men to preſerve it, and wait with fixed bayonets in cloſe order. The field piece alone was fired, and the firſt ſhot diſmounted three Moors, and a few more diſcharges put the whole body to flight. They left 22 horſes killed on the plain, and the Myſoreans took five priſoners, together with their horſes; which at their return, a few days after, they carried in a kind of triumph to their own country. 1751.

The French continued to bombard the town without any change in their poſition; and in the latter end of November the king of Myſore's army began to aſſemble at Caroor, ſituated about 50 miles from Tritchinopoly, and 5 miles to the ſouth of the Caveri; he likewiſe took into his pay 6000 Morattoes, under the command of Morari-row, often mentioned in this hiſtory: 1000 of them were ſent to ſecond

1751. the efforts of captain Clive in the Arcot province; and in the beginning of December, 500 under the command of Innis-Khan, a brave and active officer, came to Tritchinopoly. The day after their arrival, they went boldly to reconnoitre the plain, where none of the Nabob's dispirited cavalry had ever ventured to shew themselves, and finding a small detached camp of about 200 horse, which had lain four months unmolested near the French rock, they rode into it sword in hand, and brought off every thing they found with the greatest composure, shewing no fear at the swarms of Chunda-saheb's cavalry, who mounted and marched towards them from their principal camp.

After this exploit, the Morattoes went out several days successively to reconnoitre; and Innis-Khan having observed that the French dragoons were much more alert than any of Chunda-saheb's cavalry, mounting and advancing on every alarm, he formed the design of drawing them into an ambuscade; and having communicated his plan to captain Gingen, a party of Europeans, with two field pieces, were detached before day, who entering a large and deep water-course, which runs across the plain to the south of the city, concealed themselves in it, within 400 yards of the French rock, and at the same time Innis-Khan, with 300 horsemen, marched out from his encampment on the west side of the town. The surface of the plain round Tritchinopoly is very uneven, and full of hollow ways. The Morattoe taking a large circuit, placed his men in a hollow, where, when dismounted, they could not be perceived either from the French rock or that in the city. Every thing remained quiet in both camps until noon, when 40 Morattoes, mounted on the best horses, set out from the camp, and keeping out of cannon-shot of the French rock, proceeded to the eastward of it, and then galloped sword in hand directly to the enemy's camp, where they made no small hurry and confusion, either cutting down or driving all the foragers they met, quite up to the tents. This provoking the French, 60 dragoons sallied, and were followed slowly by 400 of Chunda-saheb's cavalry. The Morattoes retreated leisurely before them, halting as they halted, but always keeping at the distance of musket-shot from them: and in this manner they led the enemy as far

as

as the French rock, when Mr. Pischard, a brave officer, exasperated 1751.
at the repeated defiances of such a handful of men, formed his troop, and leaving the Moorish cavalry, set out in pursuit of them at full speed. They now flew before the dragoons, until they had led them insensibly out of the reach of the French artillery on the rock, and beyond their own party in ambuscade; when these mounting in an instant, sallied from the hollow way, and charged the dragoons impetuously in the rear, whilst the flying party wheeling, attacked them with equal fury in front. The action was over in an instant; the French had only time to discharge a few pistols, and were all cut to pieces, excepting 10, who had not been able to keep up with the rest. The detachment of Chunda-saheb's cavalry, either from cowardice, or suspicion of the stratagem, never stirred from the rock; but the officer who commanded in that post detached 100 men to succour his unfortunate friends. Lieutenant Trusler, posted in the entrenchment opposite the rock, seeing them march, and not knowing the success of the Morattoes, immediately advanced with the company of Coffrees to oblige the party to return, who finding all lost on the plain, hastened back and saved the rock, which Trusler was on the point of carrying. The success of this ambuscade dispirited the enemy so much, that they suffered their dead to lay on the plain without venturing out to bury them; and when, two days after, the English went to perform this charitable office, they found the bodies devoured by the jackals.

The Morattoes, on the other hand, were so much elevated, and conceived so despicable an opinion of the enemy, that they pressed their allies to march out and offer them battle: promising, that if the English battalion would engage the French, they would prevent it from being incommoded by Chunda-saheb's cavalry, although these were 12,000, and they themselves only 500. The reasonable objections made to this hardy proposal satisfied them, until the arrival of Basin-row with his body of 1000 men from the Arcot country, when thinking that this reinforcement rendered them a full match for the enemy, they aspired at the glory of finishing the war themselves, and became more and more sollicitous for a general engage-

ment,

1751. ment, in which they promised to charge the French battalion on both flanks; finding that the English still declined to put any thing to risque until the arrival of the Mysore army, and of a reinforcement expected from Fort St. David, they did not scruple to tell them, that they were not the same kind of men as those they had seen fighting so gallantly at Arcot.

In the mean time the army of Mysore, with 4000 Morattoes under Morari-row, had assembled on the frontier of Caroor; and the regent, after many delays, at last yielded to the pressing sollicitations of the Nabob, and prepared to march to Tritchinopoly; when the enemy having intelligence of his intention, ventured to detach a strong party of Europeans, cavalry and Sepoys, to the village of Kistnavaram, situated 30 miles to the west of the city in the high road to Mysore: they found the place, although fortified, without a garrison; and as soon as they were in possession of it, began to improve the defences, spreading a report, that if the Mysoreans offered to move, they would attack them, and afterwards pillage their country. This stopped the regent's march, and he wrote to the Nabob desiring that a strong party of Europeans might be sent to his assistance without delay, as he was utterly ignorant of the manner in which he ought to conduct himself against white men who fought with musketry and cannon.

Lieutenant Trusler was detached on this service with 40 Europeans and 100 Sepoys; but it soon appearing that this force was insufficient, captain Cope proceeded with 100 more Europeans and two small field pieces. He was instructed to dislodge the enemy at all events, and found them posted in a much stronger situation than he expected. The village was inclosed by a mud wall, flanked by round towers, and in the center of it was a fort; the northern side was close to the bank of the Caveri, and the other sides were surrounded by a deep morass, passable only in one part to the westward; to defend which, the French had flung up on an eminence an entrenchment at the distance of gun-shot from the village. Captain Cope encamped to the west of this eminence, which he intended to attack before day-break, but by some mistake the troops were not ready before the sun was risen, by which time the enemy had reinforced the post, and had lined several

ſeveral banks and water-courſes leading to it with Sepoys: he nevertheleſs perſiſted in his intention; but the forlorn-hope coming to a bank which ſheltered them from the enemy's fire, could not be prevailed on to advance beyond it, and this example was followed by the reſt. Lieutenant Felix received a ſhot through the body, as he ſtood encouraging them on the top of the bank; and ſoon after, captain Cope, returning with a platoon from the reſerve, was mortally wounded: on which diſaſters the whole party retreated to their camp in diſorder. 1751.

Captain Dalton was ſent from Tritchinopoly to take the command, and found the detachment joined by the van of the Myſore army; and two days after the regent himſelf came up with the reſt; the whole conſiſted of 12,000 horſe and 8,000 foot, including the Morattoes. He immediately deſired a conference with captain Dalton, whom he received with great politeneſs, admiring, not without aſtoniſhment, the martial appearance and regularity of the Engliſh troops; and forming naturally the ſame high opinion of the French, he declared, that he ſhould neither expoſe his men, nor loſe time, in attacking them, but proceed at midnight with half the army directly to Tritchinopoly by another road at ſome diſtance on the plain, leaving the reſt with captain Dalton, whom he requeſted to divert the enemy's attention by a falſe attack until he was out of the reach of danger: and, not content with theſe precautions, he deſired that ſome Europeans might accompany him as a ſafeguard to his perſon. Theſe diſpoſitions anſwering the purpoſe for which the detachment was ſent, captain Dalton encouraged him in his reſolution, and at midnight began to ſkirmiſh againſt the enemy's poſts, which he kept alarmed until morning, by which time the rear of the regent's diviſion was out of ſight. This ſervice proved to be much more neceſſary than it firſt appeared to be: for ſuch was the military ignorance of the Myſoreans, that they were diſcovered in the night paſſing over the plain with ten thouſand lights, as if they had been marching in the proceſſion of an Indian wedding. 1752.

The next day the reſt of their army proceeded, deſiring captain Dalton to remain before the village until they were out of ſight, and promiſed to halt and wait for him; but they were no ſooner out of danger than they hurried away to join the regent. Some hours after, the Engliſh detachment

1752. tachment decamped, and paſſing by Kiſtnavaram without moleſtation from the garriſon, returned to Tritchinopoly, where they arrived on the 6th of February, and the French ſoon after recalled their detachment.

The junction of the Myſoreans determined the king of Tanjore to declare for the Nabob; and ſoon after their arrival he ſent to Tritchinopoly 3000 horſe and 2000 foot under the command of his general Monack-jee. The Polygar Tondiman, whoſe country lies between Tanjore and Madura, likewiſe ſent 400 horſe and 3000 Colleries: theſe are a people, who, under ſeveral petty chiefs, inhabit the woods between Tritchinopoly and Cape Comorin; their name in their own language ſignifies Thieves, and juſtly deſcribes their general character, which however has differences in different parts of the country. Thoſe to the north of Madura are almoſt ſavage: their weapon is a pike 18 feet long, with which they creep along the ground, and uſe it with great addreſs in ambuſcades; but the principal ſervice they render to an army is, by ſtealing or killing the horſes of the enemy's camp. Thus the force of Mahomed-ally became on a ſudden ſuperior to that of Chunda-ſaheb; for the troops of his allies joined to his own, formed a body of 20,000 cavalry, 6000 of which were Morattoes, and of 20,000 infantry. The army of Chunda-ſaheb had likewiſe ſince their arrival before Tritchinopoly, been augmented to 15,000 horſe and 20,000 foot, by the junction of 3000 horſe commanded by Allum-Khan, the governor of Madura, and of 4000 Peons and Colleries belonging to the Polygar, Morawar, whoſe country lies to the ſouth of the kingdom of Tanjore. The king of Myſore, impatient to be put in poſſeſſion of the places which Mahomed-ally had agreed to give up to him in return for his aſſiſtance, preſſed the Engliſh battalion to make a general attack on the enemy with the whole army, and Morari-row, the Morattoe, ſeconded him very ſtrongly in this propoſal; but captain Gingen knowing that theſe Indian troops were capable of rendering very little ſervice againſt fortified poſts, defended by Europeans, and conſidering that if the Engliſh battalion, on whom the brunt would lay, ſhould ſuffer ſeverely in theſe attacks, ſuch a loſs would be irreparable, he determined to wait until he was reinforced by a body of Europeans, which were preparing to take the field in the province of Arcot.

Here

Here the ſcattered troops of Raja-ſaheb no ſooner ſaw the Engliſh retire to their garriſons, after the taking of Conjeveram, than they re-aſſembled and moved, in the beginning of January, down to the ſea-coaſt, carrying their ravages into the company's territory of Ponamalee, where they burnt ſeveral villages, and plundered the country houſes built by the Engliſh at the foot of St. Thomas's mount: after theſe hoſtilities, they returned to Conjeveram, and having repaired the damages which the pagoda had ſuſtained from the Engliſh, they garriſoned it with 300 Sepoys, and then kept the field between this place and the fort of Ponamalee, which they ſometimes threatened to attack. The violences they committed, and the contributions they levied, impaired the Nabob's as well as the Company's revenues ſo much, that the preſidency determined to make an effort, with all the force they could aſſemble, to reduce this enemy, before they ſent a reinforcement to Tritchinopoly. Captain Clive, appointed to this ſervice, returned in the beginning of February to Madraſs, where, whilſt he was employed in levying Sepoys, a detachment of 100 Europeans arrived from Bengal: with theſe, and 80 more from the garriſon of Madraſs, he took the field the 22d of February, and was the ſame day joined by 200 Europeans and 500 Sepoys from the garriſon of Arcot. His whole force united conſiſted of 380 Europeans, 1300 Sepoys, with ſix field pieces: the enemy were 2500 horſe, 2000 Sepoys, and 400 Europeans, with a large train of artillery: and, notwithſtanding this ſuperiority, they no ſooner heard of the preparations that the Engliſh were making to attack them, than they fortified themſelves ſtrongly in their camp at Vendalore, a village ſituated about 25 miles ſouth-weſt of Madraſs. Captain Clive marched towards them with an intent of attacking their camp by ſurprize in the rear; but had not proceeded far before he received information that they had ſuddenly abandoned it, and had diſperſed with the appearance of people terrified by ſome diſaſter, inſomuch that it was believed they had received news of ſome bad ſucceſs at Tritchinopoly, and were hurrying thither to reinforce the army of Chunda-ſaheb. The Engliſh however continued their march, and took poſſeſſion of the ground the enemy had quitted, where, ſome hours after, intelligence was received, that all the diſperſed parties were re-united at 1752.

1752. Conjeveram. It was then not doubted that they had received advice of the weakneſs of the garriſon at Arcot; and that they intended to take advantage of it by making a ſudden aſſault on the fort. Captain Clive therefore made a forced march of 20 miles to Conjeveram, where the garriſon of the pagoda ſurrendered on the firſt ſummons; and a few hours after, the conjecture which had been made of the enemy's intentions was verified by news that they were in full march towards Arcot. The troops were too much fatigued to follow them immediately, but the next day took the ſame rout; and on their march, a letter was received from the commanding officer at Arcot, adviſing that they had entered the town, and ſkirmiſhed againſt the fort with muſketry for ſeveral hours in expectation that the gates would have been opened to them by two officers of the Engliſh Sepoys, with whom they had carried on a correſpondence; but that the plot had been diſcovered, and the enemy finding their ſignals not anſwered, had quitted the city with precipitation, and it was not yet known what rout they had taken. In this uncertainty it was determined to haſten to Arcot.

The army arrived in ſight of Covrepauk at ſun-ſet, when the van marching in the high road without ſuſpicion, were fired upon from the right at no greater diſtance than 250 yards, by nine pieces of cannon. Theſe were the French artillery, poſted in a thick grove of mango trees, which had a ditch and a bank in front: the fire did ſome miſchief before it could be either anſwered or avoided; but luckily there was a water-courſe at a little diſtance to the left of the road, in which the infantry were ordered to take ſhelter, and the baggage to march back half a mile with one of the field pieces and a platoon to defend it; and two field pieces, ſupported by a platoon of Europeans with 200 Sepoys, were detached to oppoſe Raja-ſaheb's cavalry which appeared extending themſelves on the plain to the left of the water-courſe; in the mean time the reſt of the artillery, drawn up on the right, anſwered the enemy's fire from the grove; the French infantry entered the water-courſe, and advanced along it in a column of ſix men in front: the Engliſh formed in the ſame order, and a fire was kept up on both ſides for two hours, by moon-light, during which neither ventured to come to the puſh of bayonet. The enemy's

3 cavalry

cavalry made ſeveral unſucceſsful attacks both on the party oppoſed 1752.
to them, and the baggage in the rear: but their artillery in the grove being anſwered only by three pieces of cannon, did execution in proportion to this ſuperiority, and either killed or diſabled ſo many of the Engliſh gunners that prudence ſeemed to dictate a retreat, unleſs their cannon could be taken. Captain Clive did not deſpair of this laſt reſource, and at ten at night ſent one Shawlum, a ſerjeant, who ſpoke the country languages, with a few Sepoys, to reconnoitre: he returned and reported that the enemy had poſted no guards in the rear of the grove; on which intelligence 200 of the beſt Europeans and 400 Sepoys were immediately ordered to proceed thither under the command of lieutenant Keene, with Shawlum as their guide. Captain Clive himſelf accompanied the detachment half way, and on his return found the troops he had left fighting in the water-courſe ſo much diſpirited by the departure of Keene's detachment, that they were on the point of taking flight, and ſome had already run away; he, however, not without difficulty, rallied them, and the firing was renewed. In the mean time Keene taking a large circuit, came directly oppoſite to the rear of the grove, and halted at the diſtance of 300 yards from it, whilſt enſign Symmonds advanced alone to examine the enemy's diſpoſition. This officer had not proceeded far before he came to a deep trench, in which a large body, conſiſting of all the enemy's Sepoys, whoſe ſervice had not been demanded in the water-courſe, were ſitting down to avoid the random ſhots of the fight. They challenged Symmonds, and prepared at firſt to ſhoot him, but deceived by his ſpeaking French, ſuffered him to paſs as a French officer; he then went on to the grove, where he perceived, beſides the men employed at the guns, 100 Europeans ſtationed to ſupport them, who only kept a look-out towards the field of battle; and paſſing in his return at a diſtance to the right of the trench where he had found the enemy's Sepoys, he rejoined his own detachment; who immediately marched by the ſame way he had returned, and entering the grove unperceived, gave their fire in a general volley at the diſtance of 30 yards. It fell heavy, and aſtoniſhed the enemy ſo much that they did not return a ſingle ſhot, but inſtantly abandoned their

 guns,

1752. guns, every man endeavouring to ſave himſelf by precipitate flight. Many of them ran into a choultry in the grove, where they were ſo crowded together that they were not able to make uſe of their arms. The Engliſh drew up before the choultry, and to ſpare the impending ſlaughter of their fire, offered quarter, which was accepted with joy, and the Frenchmen coming out one by one, as they were ordered, delivered up their arms, and were made priſoners. The Engliſh troops fighting at the water-courſe were immediately convinced of the ſucceſs of the detachment, by the ſudden ſilence of the enemy's artillery: but the enemy's infantry remained ignorant of it, and continued the fight, until ſome of the fugitives from the grove informed them of the diſaſter, on which they immediately took flight, and their horſe diſperſed at the ſame time. The field being thus cleared, the whole army united, and remained under arms until day-break, when they found themſelves in poſſeſſion of nine field pieces, three cohorn mortars, and 60 European priſoners. They likewiſe counted 50 dead on the field, and not leſs than 300 Sepoys: for the enemy had expoſed theſe troops more freely than the others. Of the Engliſh, 40 Europeans and 30 Sepoys were killed, and a great number of both wounded.

Part of the fugitives took ſhelter in the neighbouring fort of Covrepauk, which was ſummoned to ſurrender; but the governor returned anſwer, that the troops of Raja-ſaheb were much more numerous than his garriſon, and, contrary to his inclination, intended to defend the fort: a detachment was therefore ſent to inveſt it, but before they arrived the fugitives abandoned it, upon which he ſubmitted.

From hence the troops proceeded to Arcot, and the next day marched towards Velore, not in expectation of reducing the place, but in hopes that ſome hoſtilities would induce Mortiz-ally to pay a contribution, or at leaſt to deliver up the elephants and baggage, which Raja-ſaheb had depoſited in his fort ſoon after he had raiſed the ſiege of Arcot; but before the troops came in ſight of Velore, captain Clive received an order from the preſidency of Fort St. David, to repair thither with all his force, for it was now determined to ſend them

them to Tritchinopoly. He therefore changed his rout, and marching acroſs the country, came to the ſpot where Nazir-jing had been killed: here he found a riſing town projected by the vanity of Mr. Dupleix to commemorate that deteſtable action, and called Dupleix-Fateabad, or the town of Dupleix's victory: it is ſaid, that he was preparing a column, with a pompous inſcription in the French, Malabar, Perſic, and Indoſtan languages, which he intended to erect in the middle of the town, where he had already cauſed coins ſtruck with ſymbols of the victory to be buried. The troops did not quit this place until they had razed to the ground all that was erected, after which they proceeded to Fort St. David. During the whole march they no where met a ſingle ſquadron of the enemy's troops. The defeat at Covrepauk ſucceeding to their former diſgraces, intirely broke their force as well as their ſpirits: their horſe either diſbanded, or took ſervice with the governors in the provinces who ſtill acknowledged Chunda-ſaheb; and the French troops and Sepoys were recalled to Pondicherry, where Mr. Dupleix was ſo incenſed againſt Raja-ſaheb, that he would not ſuffer him for ſeveral days to appear in his preſence. Thus the Engliſh ſucceſſes in the Carnatic recovered to Mahomed-ally an extent of country 30 miles in breadth and 60 in length, the annual revenues of which, including that of the famous pagoda at Tripetti, amounted to 400,000 pagodas. 1752.

Three days after their arrival at Fort St. David, the troops were ready to take the field again under the command of captain Clive, when, on the 15th of March, Major Lawrence arrived from England, and two days after put himſelf at the head of the detachment. It conſiſted of 400 Europeans and 1100 Sepoys, with eight field pieces, who eſcorting a large quantity of military ſtores, marched through the king of Tanjore's country towards Tritchinopoly.

Here the Myſoreans and Morattoes were ſo much diſpleaſed with the precaution of captain Gingen, who conſtantly refuſed to attack the enemy's poſts before he was joined by the expected reinforcement, that the Dalaway of Myſore, diſtreſſed by the great expences of his army, had more than once been on the point of returning to his own country: however, him the Nabob appeaſed, by making over

1752. over the revenues of all the diſtricts which had been recovered ſince his arrival: but Morari-row was ſo exaſperated by this inactivity, which deprived his troops of opportunities to get plunder, and removed the proſpect of more important acquiſitions, which he expected from this war, that he meditated defection, and began to treat with Chunda-ſaheb.

Both armies were equally ſollicitous of the fate of the approaching reinforcement, and Mr. Dupleix ſent repeated orders to Mr. Law, who commanded the French battalion, to intercept them at all events. They arrived on the 26th of March at a fort belonging to the king of Tanjore, within 20 miles of Tritchinopoly; where they depoſited ſuch part of the ſtores, as would have retarded their march and embaraſſed their operations. The next day proceeding along the high road, which paſſeth within point blank ſhot of Coiladdy, major Lawrence received intelligence that the enemy had poſted at this fort a ſtrong party with artillery: on which he ordered his guides to look out for another road; but they, by ſome miſtake, led him within reach of the very ſpot he wanted to avoid, and the troops were unexpectedly fired upon by ſix pieces of cannon from acroſs the Caveri. To divert this fire from the baggage, among which it created no ſmall confuſion, it was anſwered from the rear diviſion of guns conſiſting of four field pieces, ſupported by 100 Europeans, under the command of captain Clive, whilſt the line marched on inclining to the left, which direction ſoon brought them out of the enemy's reach, but not before 20 Europeans were killed. They then halted, and were joined by the rear diviſion, after which they continued their march without meeting any farther interruption, and in the evening halted within 10 miles of Tritchinopoly. From hence captain Gingen detached in the night 100 Europeans, with 50 dragoons, who joined the reinforcement before morning; and at day-break captain Dalton was likewiſe detached from the city with his own company of grenadiers, and another of the battalion, in all 200 Europeans, 400 Sepoys, and four field pieces, who were ordered to lie at a rock called the Sugarloaf, about three miles ſouth of the French rock, from whence they were to join the reinforcement, as ſoon as it came in ſight.

In the mean time the major advanced towards Elimiserum. This is a rock with a fortified pagoda on the summit, where the French had mounted cannon: it is situated three miles to the south-east of the French rock; and between these two posts the greatest part of the enemy's army were drawn up in order of battle: the rest were in a line which extended from the French rock to the village of Chucklypollam by the river side. The major, informed of this disposition, made to surround him if he passed to the north of Elimiserum, directed his march to the south of it: and before he came in sight of the enemy, the whole of the confederate troops, employed for the Nabob, were in the field, and by their appearance deterred the enemy from making any detachments to attack the major. At noon, captain Dalton's party, with the Mysoreans and the Nabob's troops, met him half-way between Elimiserum and the sugar-loaf-rock, whilst Morari-row with the Morattoes remained skirmishing faintly with the enemy. 1752.

The sun striking excessively hot, the troops were ordered to halt and refresh themselves; but in less than half an hour the scouts came in at full speed, bringing intelligence that the whole of the enemy's army was advancing, and that the fire of their cannon had put the Morattoes to flight: these soon after came up, and forming with the rest of the allies in the rear of the Europeans and Sepoys, followed them slowly at a distance.

Captain Clive having reconnoitred the enemy, reported, that there was a large choultry, with some stone buildings, not far from the front of the French battalion, which they, busied in forming their line, had neglected to take possession of. On this advice he was ordered to proceed with the first division of artillery, supported by the grenadiers, as fast as possible to the choultry, whilst the rest of the column moved up slowly in regular order. The enemy, instead of sending forward a detachment to prevent them, contented themselves with cannonading as their battalion advanced, which had approached within 800 yards of the choultry by the time the English detachment arrived there: and now made a push against their artillery, which was so well pointed, that it kept them at a distance until the rest of the battalion and Sepoys came up. The confederate troops, unwilling to expose their horses to a cannonade, halted at a distance; but those

1752. those of Chunda-saheb, commanded by Allum-Khan, the governor of Madura, kept close to the rear of the French. A cannonade ensued, the hottest without doubt, for the time it lasted, that had ever been seen on the plains of Indostan; for the French fired from 22 pieces of cannon and the English from nine. Such of the English troops as were not employed at the guns found shelter behind the choultry and the buildings near it, whilst the whole of the enemy's army stood exposed on the open plain, suffering in proportion to this disadvantage. The French battalion in half an hour began to waver, and drew off their guns to a greater distance, upon which the English advanced their artillery, and the men of the battalion who supported them were ordered to sit down with their arms grounded; by which precaution many lives were saved. They still continued to retreat, but Chunda-saheb's cavalry kept their ground for some time, and sustained the cannonade with much more firmness than had ever been observed in the troops of India: they were spirited by the example of their commander, Allum-Khan, whose head was at length taken off by a cannon-ball, as he was encouraging them to advance; on which disaster they gave way and retreated likewise. The Captains Clive and Dalton continuing to advance with the first division of artillery, followed the French, who flung themselves into a great water-course near the French rock, where they were on the point of being enfiladed by a fire that would have made great havock amongst them; when Major Lawrence, satisfied with the advantages that had been gained, and unwilling to expose the men to more fatigue under such a burning sun, ordered the pursuit to cease. Seven men of the battalion were struck dead by the heat, and 14 were killed or disabled by the cannonade. The French lost about 40 men; and 300 of Chunda-saheb's troops, with 285 horses and an elephant, were found dead on the plain. The success of this day might have been much greater, had the confederate troops behaved with common activity, instead of which they remained at a distance, idle spectators, nor could they be prevailed on to make a single charge, even when the enemy's cavalry retreated. This inaction proceeded not from want of bravery, but from the treachery of Morari-row, who being at this time in treaty with Chunda-saheb, was unwilling to bring his Morat-

toes

toes to action; and ſuch was the opinion entertained of their courage, that none of the reſt of the allies would venture to fight without them. 1752.

Major Lawrence continuing his march, arrived in the evening at Tritchinopoly, and the next day conferred with the Nabob and the other generals on the plan of their future operations: they concurred in opinion that a general attack ſhould be made without delay on the enemy's camp; but when the time was to be fixed, he found both Moors and Indians ſo attached to lucky and unlucky days, that ſeveral were likely to be loſt before they would agree in the notion of a fortunate hour, without which none of them thought it ſafe to riſk an engagement. In the mean time, thinking it not prudent to ſuffer the enemy to recover from the impreſſion which they had received on the day of his arrival, he determined to attempt as much againſt them as could be executed with his own force; and perceiving that the French poſts were too ſtrongly fortified to be carried without the aſſiſtance of the whole army, he reſolved to attack the camp of Chunda-ſaheb, which extended along the river without entrenchments. On the 1ſt of April at night, captain Dalton, with 400 men, was ordered to march, and, by taking a large circuit, to come in at the eaſtern extremity of the enemy's camp, which he was to enter, beat up, and ſet fire to. The Engliſh troops, from their long inactivity, knew ſo little of the ground about Tritchinopoly, that they were obliged to truſt to Indian guides; and theſe being ordered to conduct them out of the reach of the enemy's advanced poſts, fell into the other extreme, and led them ſeveral miles out of their way, and through ſuch bad roads, that when the morning ſtar appeared, they found themſelves between Elimiſerum and the French rock, two miles from Chunda-ſaheb's camp, and in the center of all their poſts. The approach of day not only rendered it impoſſible to ſurprize the enemy, as was intended, but likewiſe expoſed the party, if they perſiſted, to the danger of being ſurrounded by their whole force: it was therefore determined to march back without delay to Tritchinopoly. The French diſcovered them as they were retreating, and gueſſing at the intention for which they had been ſent, thought themſelves no longer ſafe to the ſouth of the Caveri, and took the reſolution of retreating that

1752. very day to the pagodas on the iſland. Chunda-ſaheb ſtrenuouſly oppoſed this reſolution, for which indeed there appeared no neceſſity; but finding that he could not prevail on Mr. Law to alter it, he gave orders for his own troops to croſs the river likewiſe. The retreat, as is uſual when meaſures have not been previouſly concerted, was made with ſo much precipitation, that his army had time to tranſport only a part of their baggage, but none of the vaſt quantity of proviſions with which they had ſtored their magazines; theſe they therefore ſet fire to. The French carrying off their artillery, abandoned all their poſts excepting Elimiſerum, and before the next morning the whole army was on the iſland, where Mr. Law took up his quarters in the pagoda of Jumbakiſtna; of Chunda-ſaheb's troops ſome went into the pagoda of Seringham, others encamped under the northern wall, and the reſt extended farther eaſtward along the bank of the Coleroon.

The next day, captain Dalton was ſent with the company of grenadiers, ſome Morattoes and Sepoys, to attack Elimiſerum: the party had with them two pieces of cannon and a mortar, the tranſporting of which through bad roads prevented them from arriving near the place before night, when captain Dalton with two others advanced to reconnoitre. Diſcovering no centinels, and finding the gate of the wall which ſurrounds the foot of the rock open, they concluded that the place was abandoned, and entering, began to aſcend the ſteps which led to the pagoda on the ſummit; but before they got there, the enemy, alarmed by the neighing of the horſes, ran to their guns and fired upon the detachment, which they diſcovered, firſt by the light of their matches, and ſoon after by the blaze of ſome huts to which the Morattoes, as is their cuſtom, had ſet fire. The ſmoke of the guns, and the darkneſs of the night, enabled captain Dalton and his companions to retreat unperceived; and as ſoon as he rejoined the detachment, he ſent ſome men to lodge themſelves under cover of a bank before the lower gate, where they were directed to remain until morning, in order to prevent the enemy from making their eſcape. But this party, deſirous of ſignalizing themſelves, imprudently exceeded their orders, and entering the lower gate, ran up the ſteps, and endeavoured to force the doors of the pagoda above;

where

where they were received with a ſmart fire, which ſoon obliged them to retreat with five Europeans and ten Sepoys wounded. A reinforcement was immediately ſent to take charge of the bank, and all remained quiet until morning, when the enemy, perceiving that preparations were making to bombard them, ſurrendered. Fifteen Europeans, thirty Sepoys, and two pieces of cannon, one of them a fine 18 pounder, were found here; the ſmaller piece of cannon, with ſome Sepoys, were left to garriſon this poſt; the reſt returned with the other gun to Tritchinopoly, which was preſented to the Nabob, as the firſt which had been taken during the campaign. Two days after the grenadiers, who had always behaved with the ſpirit peculiar to this claſs of ſoldiers, gained another advantage. The great men of the allied army complained, that they were much diſturbed in their daily ablutions in the Caveri, by a gun which fired from the choultry lying half-way between the pagoda of Seringham and the river. Captain Dalton was ſent to attack this poſt, who concealed his men behind an old wall on the bank of the river, where they waited till near noon, when the great heat of the ſun induced a part of the enemy's guard to return to the camp, and the reſt to retire into the choultry to ſleep: the grenadiers then ruſhed acroſs the river, which was fordable, and entered the poſt with ſo much rapidity that they took the gun before the enemy had time to fire it more than once: it was brought away without any oppoſition, for ſome field pieces had been ſent to the river-ſide to cover the retreat. 1752.

Events of ſuch a nature as the attacks of Elimiſerum and the choultry, as well as ſeveral others, which appear in the courſe of this work, would have no influence in ſuch ſanguinary wars as moſt writers have only thought worthy of their attention: and theſe details may therefore by many be deemed equally tireſome and ſuperfluous; but the ſtreſs of this Indian war lying on the European allies, who rarely have exceeded a thouſand men on a ſide, the actions of a ſingle platoon in India may have the ſame influence on the general ſucceſs, as the conduct of a whole regiment in Europe: and to give a juſt idea of the ſuperiority of European arms, when oppoſed to thoſe of Indoſtan, is one of the principal intentions of this narrative. The new activity which began to appear in the Engliſh battalion, induced Morari-row

1752. to relinquiſh his correſpondence with Chunda-ſaheb, and impreſſed the enemy with terrors equal to thoſe which they had formerly raiſed both in the Engliſh and the Nabob's army: there ſeemed to be no ſenſe in their councils. The whole Carnatic lay before them, and by retreating into it they might protract the war until the want of money ſhould decide the conteſt; but inſtead of taking this ſtep, they ſuffered themſelves to be captivated by the apparent ſtrength of the two pagodas, and determined to ſtand their ground in them, notwithſtanding that, by the deſtruction of their magazines, they were already reduced to the neceſſity of fetching their proviſions from a great diſtance: they were afraid to fight, and aſhamed to retreat.

At the ſame time nothing but a reſolution, juſtified by very few examples, and bordering in appearance on raſhneſs, ſeemed capable of putting a ſpeedy end to the war, of which the expences had now greatly diſtreſſed the Eaſt India company's mercantile affairs. The intimacy and confidence with which major Lawrence diſtinguiſhed capt. Clive, permitted this officer to ſuggeſt to him the reſolution of dividing the army into two bodies, and detaching one of theſe under his command to the north of the Coleroon, whilſt the other remained to the ſouth of the Caveri: this was riſquing the whole to gain the whole; for if the enemy ſhould overpower one of theſe bodies, by attacking it with their whole force, the Nabob's affairs would again be reduced to the brink of ruin; and if they neglected or failed in this attempt, they would infallibly be ruined themſelves. The propoſal, hardy as it was, was adopted by the major without any heſitation; and with a ſpirit of equity rarely poſſeſſed by competitors for glory, he was ſo far from taking umbrage at the author of this maſterly advice, that he determined in his own mind to give him the command of the ſeparate body, although he refrained from declaring his intention until he could reconcile it to the reſt of the captains in the battalion, who were all of them his ſuperiors in rank; but the ſcheme was no ſooner propoſed to the Nabob and the generals of the alliance, than the Morattoes and Myſoreans removed the difficulty, by declaring that they would not make any detachments of their troops if they were to be commanded by any other perſon. It was neceſſary to reduce the poſts of which the enemy were in poſſeſſion to the north of the Coleroon:

roon: to intercept the reinforcements which might come from Pondicherry through the ſtreights of Utatoor; and above all, that captain Clive's diviſion ſhould not be out of the reach of a forced march from the reſt of the army encamped near Tritchinopoly, leſt the whole of the enemy's force ſhould fall upon him before major Lawrence could move to his aſſiſtance. It was therefore determined to chuſe ſuch a central ſituation between the ſtreights of Utatoor and the Coleroon as would beſt anſwer all theſe intentions. Every thing being ſettled, captain Clive began his march in the night of the 6th of April with 400 Europeans, 700 Sepoys, 3000 Morattoes under the command of Innis-Khan, 1000 of the Tanjorine horſe, and eight pieces of artillery, two of which were battering cannon, and ſix of them field pieces. To conceal their march, they croſſed over into the iſland three miles to the eaſtward of Jumbakiſtna. The number of deep water-courſes which interſected this part of it, rendered the tranſporting of the cannon difficult and laborious; and whilſt the Europeans were employed at one of the water-courſes, a body of the enemy's Sepoys, returning from Coiladdy with a convoy of oxen laden with proviſions, came up, intending to paſs at the ſame place; and before they could retreat, received two or three vollies, which killed ſeveral of them. 1752.

The troops having paſſed the Coleroon before morning, proceeded ſeven miles to the north of it, and took poſſeſſion of the village of Samiavaram, in which are two pagodas about a quarter of a mile diſtant from each other, one on each ſide of the high road leading to Utatoor: theſe were allotted for the quarters of the Europeans and Sepoys; ravelins were immediately flung up before the gates, and a redoubt capable of receiving all the cannon was conſtructed to command the road to the north and ſouth. The Morattoes and Tanjorines encamped round the pagodas.

Whilſt the army were employed in theſe works, a party from Seringham took poſſeſſion of Munſurpett, a pagoda ſituated near the high road between Pitchandah and Samiavaram. It commanded a view of the country ſeveral miles; which advantage, joined to that of its ſituation, rendered it the beſt advanced poſt that could be choſen by either ſide; a detachment was therefore immediately ſent to diſlodge

1752. lodge the enemy, who defended themſelves all day, killing an officer, three Europeans, and 10 Sepoys, and in the night made their eſcape to Pitchandah undiſcovered.

The next day a party of Sepoys, with a few Europeans, were detached to attack Lalguddy, a mud fort ſituated about ſeven miles to the eaſt of Seringham, cloſe to the bank of the Coleroon, and oppoſite to the eaſtern part of the enemy's late encampment to the ſouth of the Caveri. They kept a garriſon of Sepoys here, intending to make it an intermediate magazine of proviſions, which were to be brought from hence to their camp on the iſland as opportunity offered. The Sepoys attacking the fort by eſcalade, carried it after a faint reſiſtance, and found in it a quantity of grain ſufficient for ten thouſand men for two months.

Mr. Dupleix, againſt whoſe orders Mr. Law had retreated to the north of the Caveri, was much alarmed at the critical ſituation to which the army of Chunda-ſaheb and his own troops were reduced. He, however, with his uſual perſeverance and activity, determined to make the greateſt efforts he was able to reinforce them; and immediately on receiving news that captain Clive was encamped at Samiavaram, detached 120 Europeans, 500 Sepoys, and four field pieces, with a large convoy of proviſions and ſtores. This party was led by Mr. D'Auteuil, who was empowered to take the command from Mr. Law. They arrived on the 14th of April at Utatoor, and intended, by making a large circuit to the weſt of Samiavaram, to gain in the night the bank of the Coleroon. The fate of the two armies depended in a great meaſure upon the ſucceſs or miſcarriage of this convoy and reinforcement. Captain Clive, apprized of Mr. D'Auteuil's intention, ſet out the ſame night with the greateſt part of his force to intercept him; but Mr. D'Auteuil receiving advice of his approach, immediately turned back and regained the fort; on which captain Clive returned with the utmoſt expedition to Samiavaram, where he arrived in the morning. In the afternoon, Mr. Law got intelligence of his march, without hearing of his return, which could not naturally be ſuſpected, as Utatoor is 13 miles from Samiavaram: he therefore, as ſoon as it was dark, detached 80 Europeans, and 700 Sepoys,

Sepoys, to attack the few troops he imagined to be remaining there: of these men forty were English deserters. This party arrived near the camp at midnight, when one of their spies informed the commanding officer that the troops which had marched against Mr. D'Auteuil were returned; but he, imputing the information either to cowardice or treachery, gave no credit to the spy, and proceeded; they were challenged by the advanced guard of English Sepoys, on which the officer of the deserters, an Irishman, stept out and told them, that he was sent by major Lawrence to reinforce captain Clive: and the rest of the deserters speaking English likewise, confirmed the assertion and persuaded the Sepoys so fully, that they omitted the usual precaution of asking the counter word, which would certainly have discovered the stratagem: and sent one of their body to conduct the enemy to the head quarters. They continued their march through a part of the Morattoe camp, without giving or receiving any disturbance until they came to the lesser pagoda. Here they were challenged by the centinels, and by others who were posted in a neighbouring choultry to the north of it, in which captain Clive lay asleep. They returned the challenge by a volley into each place, and immediately entered the pagoda, putting all they met to the sword. Captain Clive starting out of his sleep, and not conceiving it possible that the enemy could have advanced into the center of his camp, imputed the firing to his own Sepoys, alarmed by some attack at the outskirts: he however ran to the upper pagoda, where the greatest part of his Europeans were quartered, who having likewise taken the alarm, were under arms; and he immediately returned with 200 of them to the choultry. Here he now discovered a large body of Sepoys drawn up facing the south, and firing at random. Their position, which looked towards the enemy's encampment, joined to their confusion, confirmed him in his conjecture that they were his own troops, who had taken some unnecessary alert. In this supposition he drew up his Europeans within 20 yards of their rear, and then going alone amongst them, ordered the firing to cease, upbraiding some with the panic he supposed them to have taken, and even striking others. At length one of the Sepoys, who understood a little of the French language, discovering that he was an 1752.

 Englishman,

1752. Englishman, attacked and wounded him in two places with his sword; but finding himself on the point of being overpowered, ran away to the lower pagoda: captain Clive, exasperated at this insolence from a man whom he imagined to be in his own service, followed him to the gate, where, to his great surprize, he was accosted by six Frenchmen: his usual presence of mind did not fail him in this critical occasion, but suggesting to him all that had happened, he told the Frenchmen, with great composure, that he was come to offer them terms; and if they would look out, they would perceive the pagoda surrounded by his whole army, who were determined to give no quarter if any resistance were made. The firmness with which these words were delivered, made such an impression, that three of the Frenchmen ran into the pagoda to carry this intelligence, whilst the other three surrendered their arms to captain Clive, and followed him towards the choultry, whither he hastened, intending to order the Europeans to attack the body of Sepoys, whom he now first knew to be enemies; but these had already discovered the danger of their situation, and had marched out of the reach of the Europeans, who imagining that they did this in obedience to captain Clive's orders, made no motion to interrupt or attack them. Soon after, eight Frenchmen, who had been sent from the pagoda to reconnoitre, fell in with the English troops, and were made prisoners; and these, with the other three which captain Clive had taken, were delivered to the charge of a serjeant's party, who not knowing in this time of darkness and confusion, that the enemy were in possession of the lower pagoda, carried them thither; and on delivering them to the guard, found out their error; but such was also the confusion of the French in the pagoda, that they suffered the serjeant and his party to return unmolested. The rest of the English troops had now joined the others, and captain Clive imagining that the enemy would never have attempted so desperate an enterprize without supporting it with their whole army, deemed it absolutely necessary to storm the pagoda before the troops who were in it could receive any assistance. One of the two folding doors of the gateway had for some time been taken down to be repaired, and the other was strongly stapled down, so that the remaining part of the

the entrance would admit only two men abreaſt: the Engliſh ſoldiers made the attack, and continued it for ſome time with great reſolution; but the deſerters within fought deſperately, and killed an officer and fifteen men, on which the attack was ordered to ceaſe until day-break; and in the mean time ſuch a diſpoſition was made as might prevent thoſe in the pagoda from eſcaping, and at the ſame time oppoſe any other body which might come to their relief. At day-break the commanding officer of the French ſeeing the danger of his ſituation, made a ſally at the head of his men, who received ſo heavy a fire, that he himſelf, with twelve others who firſt came out of the gateway were killed by the volley; on which the reſt ran back into the pagoda. Captain Clive then advanced into the porch of the gate to parly with the enemy, and being weak with the loſs of blood, and fatigue, ſtood with his back to the wall of the porch, and leaned, ſtooping forward, on the ſhoulders of two ſerjeants. The officer of the Engliſh deſerters preſented himſelf with great inſolence, and telling Captain Clive with abuſive language, that he would ſhoot him, fired his muſket. The ball miſſed him, but went through the bodies of both the ſerjeants on whom he was leaning, and they both fell mortally wounded. The Frenchmen had hitherto defended the pagoda in compliance with the Engliſh deſerters, but thinking it neceſſary to diſavow ſuch an outrage, which might exclude them from any pretenſions to quarter, their officer immediately ſurrendered. By this time the body of the enemy's Sepoys had paſſed out of the camp with as little interruption as they had entered it: but orders having been ſent to the Morattoes to purſue them, Innis-Khan with all his men mounted at day-break, and came up with them in the open plain before they gained the bank of the Coleroon. The Sepoys no ſooner perceived them than they flung away their arms, and attempted to ſave themſelves by diſperſing; but the Morattoes, who never figure ſo much as in theſe cruel exploits, exerted themſelves with ſuch activity, that, according to their own report, not a ſingle man of 700 eſcaped alive; it is certain that none of them ever appeared to contradict this aſſertion. Beſides the eſcapes already mentioned, captain Clive had another, which was not diſcovered until the hurry of the day was over, when it was found that the volley which the enemy 1752.

1752. fired into the choultry where he was ſleeping had ſhattered a box that lay under his feet, and killed a ſervant who lay cloſe to him.

Pitchandah and Utatoor were now the only poſts which the enemy held to the north of the Coleroon, but they were in poſſeſſion of Coiladdy, which commands the eaſtern extremity of the iſland; and leſt Mr. Law ſhould attempt to force his way on this ſide, major Lawrence detached Monack-jee the general of the Tanjorines to take it; and to the ſouth of the Caveri, where the enemy had no poſts, a line of troops were diſpoſed, which extended five miles on each ſide of the city of Tritchinopoly.

Monack-jee on the 26th of April took Coilladdy, and the enemy loſing here their laſt magazine of proviſions, became every day more and more diſtreſſed; but the hopes of being joined by Mr. D'Auteuil kept up their ſpirits, and prevented them from making any attempts to get out of the iſland: he ſtill remained at Utatoor watching ſome opportunity to make his way good to Seringham: it was therefore determined to attack him; but as the late attempt on Samiavaram ſhewed the neceſſity of keeping the army there intire, major Lawrence reſolved to ſend a party from his own diviſion on this ſervice. Accordingly captain Dalton on the 9th of May croſſed the rivers in the night with 150 Europeans, 400 Sepoys, 500 Morattoes, and four field pieces, one of them a 12 pounder; and halting ſome hours at Samiavaram, arrived at five the next evening at a choultry within two miles of Utatoor, where he intended to paſs the night, as the troops were much fatigued. There was at ſome diſtance in front of the choultry a village, which appearing a proper poſt for an advanced guard, ſome dragoons were ſent to reconnoitre it, who diſcovered that the enemy had already taken poſſeſſion of it; on which a party of Europeans and Sepoys were ſent to diſlodge them; which they effected with ſo much eaſe, that, fluſhed with their ſucceſs, they purſued the enemy beyond the village, until they came in ſight of Mr. D'Auteuil marching out of Utatoor, who, inſtead of waiting to attack with his whole force, ſent forward a party to fall upon the Engliſh whilſt they were forming; a ſkirmiſh enſued, and the enemy was repulſed; but the Engliſh officer being mortally wounded, the detach-

ment retreated to the village, where they remained, and ſuſtained the fire of the enemy's cannon until the reſt of the troops came up. It was almoſt duſk, and captain Dalton concluding that the enemy might be deceived in their opinion of his ſtrength, and miſtake it for the whole of captain Clive's force, ventured to divide his men into two bodies, who marched to attack each flank of the enemy's line, whilſt a few Europeans left with the guns near the village cannonaded them in front. Mr. D'Auteuil no ſooner perceived this diſpoſition than it ſuggeſted to him the opinion it was intended to produce, and he retreated with great precipitation, purſued within a few yards of the walls of Utatoor: the Engliſh were on the point of getting poſſeſſion of one of his guns, when they were obliged to halt and face about, to defend themſelves againſt the enemy's cavalry, who taking advantage of the duſk of the evening, had made a circuit, and appeared unexpectedly in their rear. The Morattoes however galloping in, flung themſelves between, and the two bodies of cavalry remained ſome time firing carabines and piſtols, until one of the Engliſh 6 pounders came up, which after a few ſhot decided the conteſt, and obliged the enemy's horſe to retreat; the Morattoes then charged them ſword in hand, and drove them into the fort; but not without ſuffering themſelves; for ſeveral of them returned much wounded. The Engliſh fired at the fort from the rocks which are cloſe to the walls until eight o'clock, when they retreated back to the choultry, leaving an advanced guard of Europeans at the village, and 200 Morattoes, who promiſed to patrole all night, and give immediate information if the enemy ſhould make any motion to abandon the fort. 1752.

Mr. D'Auteuil continuing in his miſtake concerning the force which was come againſt him, no ſooner found that they had returned to the choultry, than he quitted the fort with all his troops, and marched away to Volcondah, leaving behind in the hurry a great quantity of military ſtores and ammunition, as well as refreſhments intended for the officers of Mr. Law's army. The Morattoes performed the duty they had undertaken with ſo little vigilance, that captain Dalton did not hear of the enemies retreat until two in the

 morning,

1752. morning, when it was too late to purſue them: he, however, marched to the fort, and took poſſeſſion of the ſtores which the enemy had left in it.

Mr. Law received no intelligence of captain Dalton's march acroſs the rivers; but the next morning diſcovering from the ſpire of Seringham, the detachment proceeding from Samiavaram towards Utatoor, imagined it to be a part of captain Clive's army; and on this ſuppoſition croſſed the Coleroon with all his Europeans and Sepoys, and a large body of cavalry. Captain Clive immediately marched to meet him with all his troops, excepting the guards neceſſary to defend the approaches to his camp, and came in ſight of the enemy juſt as their rear had croſſed the river. Mr. Law, ſtartled at the appearance of a force which ſo much exceeded his expectation, halted and formed his line in a ſtrong ſituation along the bank of the river. Both armies remained in order of battle until evening, each having advantages which the other reſpected too much to venture to attack. Some ſkirmiſhes paſſed between the advanced Sepoys, and in the night the French re-croſſed the river.

Captain Dalton remained two days at Utatoor, when he received orders to rejoin major Lawrence; but by this time the Coleroon was ſo much ſwelled as to be impaſſable, and the troops at Samiavaram were preparing to avail themſelves of this opportunity to attack the enemy's poſt of Pitchandah, which could receive no ſuccours from the iſland till the waters ſubſided: he therefore, to forward this ſervice, put his detachment under captain Clive's command; and to prevent the diſputes which might ariſe from the ſuperiority of his rank, reſolved to act himſelf as a volunteer. On the 14th at night the army moved down to the river-ſide.

There runs along the northern bank of the Coleroon, from Pitchandah to the ground oppoſite the great pagoda of Seringham, a large mound of earth 50 feet broad at the top, thrown up by the people of the country to reſiſt the current of the river, which in this part ſets ſtrongly from the oppoſite ſhore whenever the waters riſe. The enemy's camp on the iſland lay oppoſite and within cannon-ſhot of this mound; it was therefore determined to employ the artillery againſt them, until the battery againſt Pitchandah could be finiſhed.

Every

Every common soldier in an Indian army is accompanied either by a wife or a concubine; the officers have several, and the generals whole seraglio's: besides these the army is encumbered by a number of attendants and servants exceeding that of the fighting men; and to supply the various wants of this enervated multitude, dealers, pedlars, and retailers of all sorts, follow the camp; to whom a separate quarter is allotted, in which they daily exhibit their different commodities in greater quantities and with more regularity than in any fair in Europe; all of them sitting on the ground in a line with their merchandises exposed before them, and sheltered from the sun by a mat supported by sticks. 1752.

The next morning, the 15th, at sun-rise, six pieces of cannon began to fire upon the camp from embrasures cut through the top of the mound, which sheltered them from the guns of Pitchandah. This unexpected annoyance soon created the greatest confusion: the enemy began immediately to strike their tents, and every one to remove every thing that was either valuable or dear to him: elephants, camels, oxen and horses, mingled with men, women and children affrighted and making lamentable outcries at the destruction which fell around them, pressed to get out of the reach of it in such a hurry as only served to retard their flight: however, in two hours not a tent was standing. The crowd first moved between the pagodas of Seringham and Jumbakistna, towards the bank of the Caveri, and from this side they were fired on by the guns of Tritchinopoly: they then hurried to the eastward of Jumbakistna, where finding themselves out of the reach of danger, they began to set up their tents again. The garrison of Pitchandah attempted to interrupt the cannonade; and finding that their artillery had no effect to dismount the English guns covered by the mound, they made a sally to seize them, but had not proceeded far before they received the fire of a detachment, which captain Clive had taken the precaution to post in the way they were coming; and this instantly drove them back again, not without some loss.

During the rest of the day, the English troops were employed in erecting the battery in a ruined village, about 200 yards to the north of Pitchandah. The pagoda, like most others on the coast of Coromandel, is a square, of which the gateways projecting beyond the walls,

1752. walls, flank the angles: the French had 70 Europeans, 200 Sepoys, and three pieces of cannon in the place. The attack began the next morning at day-break, from two pieces of battering cannon, which fired from embrasures cut through the wall of a brick houſe; the ſhock ſoon brought down the wall, and left the artillery-men for ſome time expoſed; but a large body of Sepoys being ordered to keep a conſtant fire on the parapet, the enemy were very cautious in making uſe either of their ſmall arms or cannon. Some time after one of the Engliſh guns burſt, and killed three Europeans, and wounded captain Dalton; the breach nevertheleſs was made practicable by four in the afternoon, when it was determined to ſtorm the breach and eſcalade the walls at the ſame time. The enemy ſeeing the preparations for the aſſault, were diſcouraged, and beat the chamade. The Sepoys miſtaking this ſignal of ſurrender for a defiance, fired a volley, which killed the drummer, and then giving a ſhout, ran to plant the colours on the breach. This motion was ſo rapid and unexpected, that they got to the top of it before any of the Engliſh officers were able to come up and inform them of their miſtake, which they were unluckily confirmed in by the behaviour of ſome of the garriſon, who drew up as faſt as they could to defend themſelves. A body of Europeans immediately marched after them, with orders to repreſs their violences, even by firing upon them, if neceſſary: but they did not arrive before the Sepoys had killed ſeveral of the garriſon, and ſtruck ſuch a terror that 15 Frenchmen jumped over the walls into the Coleroon, where they were drowned. The reſt ſurrendered to the Europeans, whoſe preſence preſerved them from another riſque equal to that which they had juſt eſcaped; for the Morattoes, ſeeing the Sepoys in motion, imagined that they would carry off all the plunder of the place; and reſolving to have a ſhare of it themſelves, they mounted and galloped up ſword in hand to the breach: and ſeveral of them even rode up to the top of it. The enemy's army on the iſland were ſpectators of the whole attack, and fired, to very little effect, a great number of random ſhot at the village in which the Engliſh were poſted.

By the reduction of Pitchandah, the enemy's communications with the country to the north of the Coleroon were intirely cut off, and their Indian

Indian camp became again exposed to a cannonade. The dread of 1752.
this, and of the many other distresses which straitened the army more closely every day, determined the greatest part of Chunda-saheb's officers to quit his service; and they went in a body and informed him of this resolution. He heard it with great temper, and instead of reproaching them for deserting him, said, that if they had not prevented him, he should of himself have proposed what they desired; that although he was not able to discharge the whole of their arrears, they might be assured he would punctually acquit himself of all his obligations whensoever his better fortune should return; and, as a proof of his sincerity, he offered to deliver up to them the greatest part of his elephants, camels, horses, and other military effects, which they received at a valuation in part of what he was indebted to them.

The next day these officers sent messengers to the confederates, some offering to take service, others desiring to pass through their posts: but the Indian allies, who had for some time regarded the whole of the enemy's baggage as a booty which could not escape them, hesitated to comply with their request; and the Morattoes particularly, who scarcely rate the life of a man at the value of his turban, were averse to the granting of any terms which might hinder them from exerting their sabres to get the spoil, being persuaded that, if hostilities were carried on to extremity, their activity would acquire much the larger share of it. The English frustrated these cruel intentions, by determining to give their own passports, if the rest of the allies persisted in refusing; upon which they consented to give theirs likewise.

Accordingly flags were planted on the banks of the Caveri and Coleroon, as a signal to the enemy's troops that they might pass over in security. Two thousand of Chunda-saheb's best horse, and 1500 Sepoys, joined captain Clive at Samiavaram; others went to the Mysoreans; very few to the Nabob: the troops of Morawar and Madura, and other independent bodies, returned into their own countries. On the 4th day not a tent was standing in the island; and there remained with Chunda-saheb no more than 2000 horse and 3000 foot, who took

1752. took ſhelter in the pagoda of Seringham: amongſt the foot were 1000 Rajpoots, who, from a motive of religion, undertook to defend the inward temples againſt all intruders. The French battalion, with 2000 Sepoys, ſhut themſelves up in Jumbakiſtna, giving out, as is the cuſtom of that nation, that they intended to defend themſelves to the laſt extremity. They preferred this to the other pagoda, becauſe its outward wall was in a better condition, and its ſmaller extent better proportioned to the number of their troops.

The artillery of Tritchinopoly and the allied army furniſhing no more than three pieces of battering cannon, a train was ordered from Devi Cotah; and to loſe no opportunity of increaſing the enemy's diſtreſſes before it arrived, major Lawrence on the 18th of May, the ſame day that the French withdrew into the pagoda, quitted his poſt at Chuckly-pollam, and encamping oppoſite to it on the iſland, immediately threw up an entrenchment from one river to the other: at the ſame time Monack-jee with the Tanjorines moving from the eaſtward, took poſſeſſion of Chuckly-pollam; and the army at Samiavaram quitting that poſt, encamped along the northern bank of the Coleroon. The Myſoreans remained, as before, to the weſt of the city.

But although the obſtacles which now ſurrounded the enemy were difficult to be overcome, they were not abſolutely inſurmountable. The troops in Jumbakiſtna outnumbered thoſe in the major's camp two to one, and both the rivers ſwelling often at this ſeaſon of the year, Mr. Law might force his way through it before any ſuccours could come from the main land: if ſucceſsful in this attempt, he might, as ſoon as the rivers began to fall, croſs the Caveri at ſome paſs farther to the eaſtward, before captain Clive's diviſion would be able to paſs the Coleroon, as this being the deeper channel, does not become fordable again ſo ſoon as the other: he might then by haſty marches make his way good to Karical, haraſſed indeed in his rout by Myſoreans and Morattoes, who, unſupported by the Engliſh troops, would probably make few vigorous efforts againſt a compact body of European infantry provided with a well-appointed train of artillery: but ſuch a plan implied an option of difficulties not to be expected from troops diſpirited by

by ill ſucceſs, and commanded by officers of no great talents; nor does it appear that the French ever entertained any thoughts of carrying it into execution. They flattered themſelves in their irreſolute councils, that Mr. D'Auteuil would make his way good into the iſland, notwithſtanding this attempt was now become more difficult than ever; and they hoped, with the ſupplies he was bringing, to protract the defence of the pagoda to the end of June, at which time ſhips were expected at Pondicherry with a conſiderable reinforcement of troops from France; however, for fear of the worſt, Mr. Law determined to take ſuch meaſures as he thought would place the perſon of Chunda-ſaheb out of danger. 1752.

Deſerters informing the Engliſh how much the enemy's future reſolutions depended on the arrival of Mr. D'Auteuil's convoy, it was determined to make another attempt againſt that reinforcement; but as it was reported that they were in poſſeſſion of all the fortifications at Vol-condah, it was thought neceſſary, if poſſible, to bring the governor over to the Nabob's intereſt. A letter was written to him full of promiſes: the man changing ſides with fortune, anſwered, that although he had permitted Mr. D'Auteuil to take up his quarters in the pettah, he had not ſuffered him to take poſſeſſion either of the ſtone fort, or the fortifications of the rock; and that if any troops were ſent to attack the French, he would aſſiſt to deſtroy them. About the ſame time Mr. D'Auteuil, preſſed by the repeated ſollicitations of Mr. Law, quitted Vol-condah, and to conceal ſome other plan gave out that he intended to retake the fort of Utatoor, Such an opportunity of attacking him was more to be relied on than the promiſes of the governor, and captain Clive marched againſt him without delay.

He left a ſtrong garriſon in Pitchandah, and in his camp a number of troops ſufficient by well contrived diſpoſitions, to prevent Mr. Law from ſuſpecting the abſence of the force he took with him, which conſiſted of 100 Europeans, 1000 Sepoys, and 2000 Morattoe horſe, with ſix field pieces. They ſet out on the 27th of May in the evening, and arrived before morning at Utatoor, where they ſhut themſelves up in the fort all that day and the enſuing night, in hopes

1752. that Mr. D'Auteuil would inadvertently come near enough to give them an opportunity of falling upon him on the plain before he could regain Vol-condah. He did indeed advance within ſeven miles of Utatoor; but either from ſome rumour, or ſuſpicion, his courage failed him on a ſudden, and he took the reſolution of returning in great haſte to the place from whence he came. Captain Clive was no ſooner informed of his retreat than he ſet out in purſuit of him, and early in the morning ſent the Morattoes before, inſtructing them to keep their main body out of ſight, and to endeavour to harraſs and retard the enemy's march with ſmall parties, ſuch as might be miſtaken for detachments ſent only in queſt of plunder, and prevent them from ſuſpecting any thing more. Some of them came up with the enemy in the afternoon, within a league of Vol-condah, and amuſed Mr. D'Auteuil ſo well, that he, hoping to entice them within reach of his fire, waſted ſome time in making evolutions; but greater numbers coming in ſight, he began to ſuſpect the ſtratagem, and forming his men in a column with two field pieces in front, retreated. By this time the whole body of Morattoes came up and hovered round him until he reached Vol-condah, where he drew up between the mud wall of the pettah and the river Valarru, which was almoſt dry. Soon after the Sepoys, who formed the van of the Engliſh column, appeared outmarching the Europeans at a great rate; 600 of them had, in the enemy's ſervice, ſtormed the breaches at the aſſault of Arcot, and having ſince that time been employed in the Engliſh ſervice in ſeveral actions under the command of captain Clive, entertained no ſmall opinion of their own prowess when ſupported by a body of Europeans. Theſe men no ſooner came within cannon-ſhot of the enemy, than they ran precipitately to attack them, without regarding any order. They received the fire of the enemy's cannon, and muſketry, which killed many of them, but did not check the reſt from ruſhing on to the puſh of bayonet. The Morattoes, animated by ſuch an example, galloped acroſs the river, and charging the flanks, increaſed the confuſion, which the Sepoys had made in the center. The attack was too general and impetuous to be long reſiſted, and the enemy retired haſtily through the

the barrier into the pettah, where they began to make reſiſtance again 1752.
by firing over the mud wall. By this time the Europeans came up, and aſſaulting the barrier, ſoon forced their way and put the enemy to flight a ſecond time, who now ran to take ſhelter in the ſtone fort, where the governor, according to his promiſe, ſhut the gate; but ſome of them getting over the walls with ſcaling ladders, in an unguarded part, opened the gate, in ſpite of the garriſon, and let in their fellow fugitives. This paſſed whilſt the Engliſh troops, cautious of diſperſing in a place they were not acquainted with, were forming to follow them in order, and ſoon after the field pieces began to fire upon the gate, whilſt the muſketry under ſhelter of the houſes deterred the enemy from appearing on the ramparts. Mr. D'Auteuil therefore, as the laſt reſource, attempted to get into the fortifications of the adjacent rock; but the governor, who was there in perſon, ſent him word, that if he perſiſted in uſing any violence he would fire into the fort. In this perplexity, which the night increaſed, he conſulted his officers, who unanimouſly agreed to ſurrender. The white flag was hung out, and the terms were ſoon ſettled. It was agreed, that the deſerters ſhould be pardoned, that the French commiſſioned officers ſhould not ſerve againſt the Nabob for 12 months, and the private men remain priſoners of war at his diſcretion. The whole party conſiſted of 100 Europeans, of which 35 were Engliſh deſerters, 400 Sepoys, and 340 horſe. Their artillery was only three pieces of cannon, but there was found in the pettah three large magazines, which, beſides a variety of other military ſtores, contained 800 barrels of gun-powder and 3000 muſkets. It was known that Mr D'Auteuil had with him a large ſum of money, but he ſecreted great part of it amongſt his own baggage, which he was permitted to carry away without examination: the troops on both ſides embezzled part of the remainder: ſo that only 50,000 rupees were regularly taken poſſeſſion of for the uſe of the captors; whoſe booty, excluſive of the military ſtores, which were reſerved for the Company, amounted to 10,000 pounds ſterling: the horſemen and Sepoys were, as uſual, diſarmed and ſet at liberty, and captain Clive returned to his camp with the reſt of the priſoners.

1752. The French at Jumbakiſtna were apprized of the march of the troops to intercept Mr. D'Auteuil, and had before received from him ſuch a deſcription of the difficulties which obſtructed his paſſage as deſtroyed the hopes they had too fondly entertained of this reſource; their proviſions likewiſe began to fail. The ſtraits to which they were reduced had for ſome time been foreſeen by Chunda-ſaheb, and he had often repreſented to Mr. Law the neceſſity of making a vigorous effort to extricate themſelves; but finding that his remonſtrances were not heeded, the uſual ſteadineſs of his mind began to fail him, and he gave way to an anxiety, which increaſing with the proſpect of his diſtreſſes, greatly impaired his health. At the ſame time Mr. Law was not a little ſollicitous about the ſafety of a perſon of ſuch great importance, whom his own irreſolute conduct had brought into the dangers which now ſurrounded him. He thought, and perhaps juſtly, that if Chunda-ſaheb ſhould be obliged to ſurrender, the Nabob would never agree to ſpare the life of his rival; and from the prejudices of national animoſity, he concluded that if the Engliſh got him into their power, they would not with-hold him from the Nabob's reſentment: he therefore ſuggeſted to his ally the neceſſity of attempting to make his eſcape, by bribing ſome chief of the confederate army to permit him to paſs through his quarters. Chunda-ſaheb, ſenſible of his deſperate ſituation, conſented to try this deſperate remedy, forced by the ſeverity of his fate to make an option on which his life depended, when every choice preſented almoſt equal danger. The Nabob was out of the queſtion; the Myſoreans he knew would make uſe of him as a means to oblige the Nabob to fulfil the agreements he had made with them, and the Morattoes would ſell him to the higheſt bidder of the two: the Polygars were not ſtrong enough, nor were their troops ſituated conveniently to favour his eſcape. There remained the Tanjorines; theſe had formerly received injuries from Chunda-ſaheb, and more lately had ſeen their capital beſieged by him; ſo that had their troops been commanded by the king in perſon, it would have been as abſurd to repoſe a confidence in them as in any other of the allies; but it was known that their general Monack-jee was at open variance with the prime miniſter, who

who had on all occaſions prevented the king from diſtinguiſhing him with thoſe marks of gratitude his military ſervices deſerved. It was therefore thought not impracticable to ſeparate the intereſts of the general from thoſe of his ſovereign; and this feeble glimmering ray of hope was followed, only becauſe no other preſented itſelf. 1752.

Monack-jee received the overture, and carried on the correſpondence with ſo much addreſs and ſeeming complacence, as induced Mr. Law and Chunda-ſaheb to think they had gained him over to their intereſt: a large ſum of money was paid, and much more, with every other advantage he thought proper to ſtipulate, promiſed: but the hour Chunda-ſaheb was to deliver himſelf into his hands was not fixed, when on the 31ſt of May the battering cannon arrived from Devi Cotah, and Mr. Law received a ſummons to ſurrender at diſcretion. Monack-jee now acting as a friend, ſent at the ſame time a meſſage adviſing Chunda-ſaheb to come over to him that very night, ſince, if he delayed to make his eſcape before the Engliſh advanced nearer the pagodas, which they were preparing to batter, his paſſage to Chuckly-pollam, would afterwards be ſubject to infinite riſques.

In order therefore to prevent the Engliſh from taking any ſuſpicions of this important reſolution before it was carried into effect, Mr. Law, not unſagaciouſly, made uſe of the higheſt ſpirit of rodomontade in his anſwer to major Lawrence. He talked of defending the pagoda until the laſt extremity, unleſs he was permitted to march away with all the troops under his command wherever he pleaſed; inſiſting likewiſe, that no ſearch ſhould be made after any perſon under his colours. On theſe conditions he was willing to deliver up one half of his artillery.

As ſoon as it was night, Mr. Law himſelf repaired privately to Monack-jee's quarters, where, amongſt other precautions, he demanded, that a conſiderable hoſtage ſhould be delivered before Chunda-ſaheb put himſelf into Monack-jee's power. To this the Tanjorine anſwered with great calmneſs, that if any intentions of treachery were entertained, no hoſtage would be a check to them; and that by giving one, the ſecret would be divulged, and the eſcape rendered impracticable. He, however, took an oath, the moſt

ſacred

1752. ſacred of all to an Indian ſoldier, on his ſabre and poniard, wiſhing they might be turned to his own deſtruction if he failed in his engagements, which were to ſend away Chunda-ſaheb as ſoon as he came into his quarters, with an eſcort of horſe, to the French ſettlement of Karical. At the ſame time a Tanjorine officer aſſured Mr. Law that he was appointed to command the eſcort, and ſhewed the pallankin and other preparations which were intended for the journey. Mr. Law and the officer then repaired to a choultry, were Chunda-ſaheb himſelf, with a few attendants, waited the reſult of the conference. As ſoon as he had heard it related, he proceeded with the Tanjorine to Monack-jee's quarters, where, inſtead of the eſcort he expected, he was met by a guard patroling for him, who carried him with violence into a tent, where they immediately put him into irons.

The news was inſtantly communicated to the Nabob, the Myſorean and Morattoe, and kept them up all night debating on the fate of the priſoner. The next morning they repaired together with Monack-jee to major Lawrence's tent, in whoſe preſence they held a council. Each of them inſiſted that Chunda-ſaheb ought to be delivered to himſelf, ſupporting the demand with the ſuperior importance each thought he bore in the general cauſe; but Monack-jee firmly refuſed to give his prize out of his own hands. The major had hitherto remained ſilent, but finding that the diſſention was irreconcileable, propoſed that the Engliſh ſhould have the care of him, and keep him in one of their ſettlements. They were all of them averſe to this ſcheme, and broke up the conference without coming to any reſolution: the three competitors in high indignation againſt one another, and againſt Monack-jee, who had moreover the mortification of ſeeing that the treachery he had committed was ſo far from being acknowledged as a ſervice rendered to the general cauſe, that the Myſorean, the Morattoe, and perhaps the Nabob himſelf, wiſhed in the bottom of their hearts that Chunda-ſaheb had not been taken, ſince they had not the diſpoſal of him in their own power.

Immediately after the conference, major Lawrence ſent another ſummons to Mr. Law, more peremptory than the former: for a deciſive anſwer was demanded before noon the next day; after which his

his flags of truce would be fired upon; and if the batteries once began to play, it was declared that every man in the pagoda should be put to the sword. 1752.

He had already been informed of the fate of his ally, and had heard a rumour of the defeat at Vol-condah, but this he did not intirely give credit to; when convinced of it by the report of one of his own officers who had seen Mr. D'Auteuil in the English camp, he desired a personal conference with major Lawrence, which, after several messages, was agreed to be held the next day.

He began, by asserting that the peace which existed between the two crowns, entitled him to expect from the English every mark of consideration for the French troops, since they were now left unconnected with any powers contending in the Carnatic, by the dispersion of Chunda-saheb's army, and the imprisonment of its leader; he therefore expected that the English would, instead of acting as enemies, contribute as allies to facilitate the retreat of his army into the French settlements. Major Lawrence replied, that he acted in the conference only as the interpreter of the Nabob's intentions, with whom the English were in close alliance; and as a justification of the Nabob's conduct, produced a letter in which Mr. Dupleix had declared that he would never cease to pursue him whilst a single Frenchman remained in India.

After several other altercations, which produced little change in the terms first proposed, the capitulation was signed. It was agreed that the pagoda of Jumbakistna should be delivered up, with all the guns, stores, and ammunition; that the officers should give their parole not to serve against the Nabob or his allies; that the private men of the battalion, Europeans, Coffrees and Topasses, should remain prisoners; and that the deserters should be pardoned.

The troops with captain Clive were then ordered to rejoin the major's division, and the next morning, before break of day, captain Dalton marched with 250 chosen men, who halted, beating their drums at an abandoned out-post within pistol-shot of the walls of Jumbakistna, whilst the major remained not far off with the rest of the troops, drawn up ready to prevent the effect of any treachery;

but

1752. but none was intended: for Mr. Law ſoon came out with ſome of his officers, and conducted the detachment into the pagoda, where they formed with their backs to the gate, oppoſite to the French troops, who immediately flung down their arms in a heap, and ſurrendered priſoners. The whole conſiſted of 35 commiſſion officers, 725 battalion men bearing arms, beſides 60 ſick and wounded in the hoſpital, and 2000 Sepoys: their artillery were four 13 inch mortars, 8 cohorns, 2 petards, 31 pieces of cannon, of which 11 were for battering, moſtly 18 pounders, and the reſt field pieces: they had likewiſe a great quantity of ammunition, ſtores and carriages of all ſorts in very good condition. The pagoda of Seringham was ſoon after delivered up, and the horſe and foot who had taken refuge in it ſuffered to paſs away without moleſtation; but the 1000 Rajpoots refuſed to quit the temple, and threatened their victors to cut them to pieces if they offered to enter within the third wall: the Engliſh, in admiration of their enthuſiaſm, promiſed to give them no occaſion of offence.

Thus was this formidable army, whoſe numbers two months before were nearly equal to the confederates, reduced, without a battle, more effectually than it probably could have been by what is generally eſteemed a total defeat in the field. The ſoldier who regards his profeſſion as a ſcience, will diſcover examples worthy of his meditation, both in the abſurdity of the enemy's choice of their ſituation, and in the advantages which were taken of it. It is indeed difficult to determine whether the Engliſh conducted themſelves with more ability and ſpirit, or the French with more irreſolution and ignorance, after major Lawrence and captain Clive arrived at Tritchinopoly.

Still the fate of Chunda-ſaheb remained to be decided before the ſucceſs of this day could be deemed complete. The anxiety which Monack-jee carried away from the conference in major Lawrence's tent was encreaſed every hour by the meſſages and propoſals he received. The Myſorean promiſed money, the Nabob threatened reſentment, and Morari-row, more plainly, that he would pay him a viſit at the head of 6000 horſe. Terrified at the commotions which would inevitably follow, if he gave the preference to any one of the competitors, he ſaw no method of finiſhing the conteſt but by putting an end to the life of his

§ priſoner;

prisoner; however, as the major had expressed a desire that the English might have him in their possession, he thought it necessary to know whether they seriously expected this deference, and accordingly, on the same morning that the pagoda surrendered, went to the major; with whom he had a conference, which convinced him that the English were his friends, and that they were resolved not to interfere any farther in the dispute. He therefore immediately on his return to Chuckly-pollam put his design into execution, by ordering the head of Chunda-saheb to be struck off. 1752.

The executioner of this deed was a Pitan, one of Monack-jee's retinue, reserved for such purposes. He found the unfortunate victim an aged man, stretched on the ground, from whence the infirmities of sickness rendered him unable to rear himself. The aspect and abrupt intrusion of the assassin instantly suggested to Chunda-saheb the errand on which he was sent. He waved his hand, and desired to speak to Monack-jee before he died, saying, that he had something of great importance to communicate to him: but the man of blood giving no heed to his words, proceeded to his work, and after stabbing him to the heart, severed his head from his body.

The head was immediately sent into Tritchinopoly to the Nabob, who now for the first time saw the face of his rival. After he had gratified his courtiers with a sight of it, they tied it to the neck of a camel, and in this manner it was carried five times round the walls of the city, attended by a hundred thousand spectators, insulting it with all the obscene and indecent invectives peculiar to the manners of Indostan. It was afterwards carefully packed up in a box, and delivered to an escort, who gave out that they were to carry it to be viewed by the Great Mogul at Delhi; a practice generally observed to heighten the reputation of the successful cause: but there is no reason to believe that it was ever carried out of the Carnatic.

Such was the unfortunate and ignominious end of this man. The many examples of a similar fate, which are perpetually produced by the contests of ambition in this unsettled empire, have established a proverb, that fortune is a throne; and therefore he who falls in such contests is only reckoned unfortunate, without having the odium of

1752. rebellion or treachery charged on his memory, unleſs he oppoſes the ſovereign of ſovereigns, the Great Mogul; all the reſt is reckoned the common courſe of politics: for there is ſcarcely throughout the empire a Nabob, who has not an open or latent competitor. It therefore only remains to ſpeak of the private character of Chunda-ſaheb, in which he is generally acknowledged to have been a brave, benevolent, humane and generous man, as princes go in Indoſtan. His military abilities were much greater than are commonly found in the generals of India, inſomuch that if he had an abſolute command over the French troops, it is believed he would not have committed the miſtakes which brought on his cataſtrophe, and the total reduction of his army.

But ſignal as theſe ſucceſſes were, they were ſo far from being the means of reſtoring tranquillity to the Carnatic, that in the very principles which produced them were intermixed the ſeeds of another more dangerous and obſtinate war: and this the Nabob had the anguiſh to know, whilſt he was giving the demonſtrations of joy expected from him on ſucceſſes which appeared ſo deciſive.

END *of the* THIRD BOOK.

BOOK